University of Alberta

Women and Agroforestry in Kabale District, Uganda: An Exploratory Study of Social Issues Affecting Women's Agroforestry Behaviours and Production

By Lesley K. Just

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the degree of **Master of Science**

in

Rural Sociology

Department of Rural Economy

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall, 1996

National Library of Canada

Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file *Votre référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-612-18280-0

Canada

University of Alberta

Release Form

NAME OF AUTHOR: Lesley Kim Just

TITLE OF THESIS: Women and Agroforestry in Kabale District, Uganda: An Exploratory Study of Social Issues Affecting Women's Agroforestry Behaviours and Production

DEGREE: Master of Science

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1996

Permission is hereby granted to the University of Alberta Library to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves all other publication and other rights in association with the copyright in the thesis, and except as hereinbefore provided neither the thesis nor any substantial portion thereof may be printed or otherwise reproduced in any material form whatever without the author's prior written permission.

Lesley Just

Permanent Address
869 Erin Place
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada
T5T 1M6

Date August 29, 1996

University of Alberta

Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled **Women and Agroforestry in Kabale District, Uganda: An Exploratory Study of Social Issues Affecting Women's Agroforestry Behaviours and Production** submitted by **Lesley K. Just** in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Science** in **Rural Sociology**.

Eloise C. Murray
Dr. Eloise C. Murray, supervisor

William E. Phillips
Dr. William Phillips

K D Hughes
Dr. Karen Hughes

Date August 29, 1996

For my mom, and the many other women who have struggled on their own
- and managed just fine.

ABSTRACT

Africa is plagued by problems of deforestation and environmental decay. The International Centre for Research in Agroforestry (ICRAF) is researching the potential of agroforestry as a solution to some of these problems. The study *Women and Agroforestry in Kabale District, Uganda: An Exploratory Study of Social Issues Affecting Women's Agroforestry Behaviours and Production* was designed to explore and identify the issues that affect women farmers in Uganda and have an impact on their agroforestry behaviours.

Thirty two women from Kabale District were interviewed about women's roles in *Bakiga* culture, responsibilities and expectations placed upon women farmers, issues affecting women farmers, rights and access to land and trees, and changes in women's lives over time. Six general themes emerged from the interviews that were reported as factors that influenced women's land use decisions and actions. The themes were identified as: 1. Land and tree tenure, 2. Population pressure and land availability, 3. Alcoholism and family violence, 4. AIDS related illness and death, 5. Household demands and women's resources, and 6. Female community solidarity. Five of the women were chosen as case study participants and detailed life history information was collected from them to illustrate how the themes manifest themselves in practice.

The information collected during the course of the study was integrated into a human ecological framework. Women's triple roles of reproduction, production and community maintenance work, together with the social manifestations of gender, were considered to create a theoretical model of the interaction between rural women's lives and agroforestry systems. The model shows that agroforestry is not only a biophysical farming system. There is a human component in agroforestry systems that fluidly interacts

with other components to determine, in part, the end product of the agroforestry system.

The conclusion was drawn from the study that not all rural Ugandan women are unempowered victims of circumstance. Rather, many women have some degree of control over their labour and resources, and are in a position of decision making control over the land that they cultivate. Agroforestry programs need to be designed that work in conjunction with the current circumstances of *Bakiga* women. Furthermore, collaborative research and development programs are needed to address issues that directly and indirectly affect agroforestry production.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many thanks to all the people and institutions who comprise what I consider to be the microsystem of this thesis:

To my advisor, mentor and friend, Dr. Eloise Murray for her endless support and encouragement.

To the members of my committee - Dr. Bill Phillips and Dr. Karen Hughes - for providing advice and guidance throughout the process.

To Dr. Habib Ibrahim for always coming through for me in Africa and managing to get things done.

To all the members of ICRAF/AFRENA Uganda for their assistance in the field.

To a variety of mixed friends whose friendship and letters kept Ugandan life in perspective; in particular Anne, Merete, Keri and Effy.

And, of course, to the strong women of Kabale District who graciously shared with me their lives and responsibilities.

Financial support for the fieldwork was provided by the International Centre for Research in Agroforestry (ICRAF), through the ICRAF/Laval/University of Alberta fellowship program. This program is generously funded by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Canada. Additional funding was provided by IDRC, Canada/University of Alberta/University of Zimbabwe Value of Trees Project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

I. Introduction ..... 1.

Introduction and Statement of the Problem ..... 1.
Purpose of the Study ..... 3.
Theoretical Framework of the Study ..... 3.
An ecosystem model of agroforestry ..... 5.
Women's involvement in agroforestry ..... 12.
Gender relations in agroforestry ..... 13.
Objectives of the Study ..... 18.
Rationale and Significance of the Study ..... 19.
Setting of the Study: Kabale, Uganda ..... 20.
Political history ..... 20.
Kabale District ..... 23.
Demographics ..... 25.
Cultural context ..... 26.
Agroforestry in Kabale District ..... 29.

II. Review of the Literature ..... 32.

Agroforestry Systems ..... 33.
Land and Tree Tenure ..... 34.
Women in Agriculture and Forestry in Developing Southern Nations ..... 37.
Women's indigenous knowledge ..... 39.
Female Headed Households in Eastern Africa ..... 42.

III. Research Methodology and Methods ..... 47.

Methodology: Qualitative Grounded Theory ..... 47.
Methods ..... 48.
Validity and Reliability of Qualitative Data ..... 52.
Research Sample ..... 53.
Study sites ..... 53.
Study participants ..... 54.
Limitations ..... 57.
Ethical Considerations and Community Compensation ..... 58.

IV. Emergent Themes related to Agroforestry Production ..... 60.

Land and Tree Tenure ..... 61.

Land tenure ..... 61.
Tree tenure ..... 67.
Population Pressure and Land Availability ..... 69.
Alcoholism and Family Violence ..... 70.
AIDS Related Illness and Death ..... 73.
Household Demands and Women's Resources ..... 76.
Female Community Solidarity ..... 77.
Summary of the Issues: Impact of the Themes on Women's Decisions about Land Use ..... 81.

V. Bakiga Women: 5 Stories of Life and Land ..... 83.

Stella ..... 85.
Personal information ..... 85.
The household: Composition and resources ..... 85.
Labour responsibilities of household members ..... 87.
Land and trees ..... 89.
Perceptions of women's lives: Constraints, concerns and priorities ..... 90.
Changes in women's lives ..... 91.
Perpetwa ..... 92.
Personal information ..... 92.
The household: Composition and resources ..... 92.
Labour responsibilities of household members ..... 93.
Land and trees ..... 94.
Perceptions of women's lives: Constraints, concerns and priorities ..... 97.
Changes in women's lives ..... 98.
Mary ..... 99.
Personal information ..... 99.
The household: Composition and resources ..... 99.
Labour responsibilities of household members ..... 101.
Land and trees ..... 102.
Perceptions of women's lives: Constraints, concerns and priorities ..... 105.
Changes in women's lives ..... 106.
Mauda ..... 107.
Personal information ..... 107.
The household: Composition and resources ..... 107.
Labour responsibilities of household members ..... 109.
Land and trees ..... 110.
Perceptions of women's lives: Constraints, concerns and priorities ..... 111.
Changes in women's lives ..... 112.
Lois ..... 112.

Personal information..... 112.
The household: Composition and resources..... 113.
Labour responsibilities of household members..... 114.
Land and trees..... 115.
Perceptions of women's lives: Constraints, concerns and priorities..... 117.
Changes in women's lives..... 117.
Summary..... 118.

VI. Theoretical Model: Human Ecology, Gender and Bakiga Women's Triple Roles..... 121.

The Human Ecology Framework: Integration of the Model and Women's Lives..... 121.
The Triple Roles of Bakiga Women..... 122.
Reproductive..... 123.
Productive..... 123.
Community..... 124.
Application of the Model: Mauda's Life in Human Ecological Terms..... 126.
The mesosystem: A decision making process..... 128.
Project Summary and Conclusions..... 135.
Recommendations for Further Research and Action..... 139.

References Cited..... 144.

Appendix A: Interview Discussion Outline..... 151.

Appendix B: Wealth Categories of Kabale Women..... 156.

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

TABLE **PAGE**

Table 1. Marital and socio-economic status of women interview respondents ..... 56.
Table 2. Socio-economic characteristics of life history participants ..... 56.

FIGURE **PAGE**

Figure 1. The agroforestry ecosystem ..... 7.
Figure 2. The agroforestry microsystem and mesosystem ..... 9.
Figure 3. Socio-cultural elements of gender identity and gender relations ..... 16.
Figure 4.1. Map of Uganda ..... 24.
Figure 4.2. Kabale District, southwest Uganda ..... 24.
Figure 5. Human ecological model of Mauda's life circumstances ..... 127.
Figure 6. Interaction of individual micro and meso systems with the agroforestry micro and meso systems ..... 129.
Figure 7. The impact of access to resources and household demands placed upon women on the land use decisions made by women farmers in Kabale District, Uganda ..... 130.
Figure 8. Human ecological model showing the placement of human systems and agroforestry systems within a larger environment ..... 136.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Introduction and Problem Statement

Many rural peoples in developing nations are involved in or depend on some form of agroforestry or forestry practices for subsistence and income. Agricultural communities often supplement their resources with forest products. Forests provide many necessities to communities, including food, fodder, fuel wood, craft and weaving materials, medicines, natural crop fertilizers, and canopy shelter for people and livestock. These needs, coupled with increasing population pressures on resources and competitive commercial production have resulted in mass deforestation, soil erosion and general ecologic imbalance. In an effort to combat these problems, development programs hold much hope for reforestation and agroforestry programs (Flora and Santos, 1988; Das, 1989).

Agroforestry, as an approach to reversing environmental degradation, is particularly favourable due to its holistic approach to land use problems. Agroforestry initiatives in the tropics have successfully intensified land use and increased the human carrying capacity of land. The resources provided by agroforestry aid in decreasing the pressures on natural forests, thereby helping to conserve natural forest stands (Maydell, 1985). Since agroforestry can be practised in gardens and around homesteads, and fuel wood sources can be integrated with agricultural production, these programs are particularly promising for poor rural communities heavily populated by women (Dankelman and Davidson, 1988). Particularly in Africa, it is the women that are primarily responsible for agricultural production.

Women produce the majority of the world's food. They are the universal carriers of water and gatherers of wood and plants (Bryceson & Howe, 1993; Davidson, 1993). In many African cultures, it is the woman's sole responsibility to produce and prepare food for the family (Sorenson, 1990). Usually, women make use of the non-commercial and indirect benefits of agroforestry plots; however, with the economic crisis found in many southern nations, and the migration of men from rural to urban areas to find paid work, women also take over the commercial agroforestry work done by men (Fortmann and Rocheleau, 1985). A study by Watson (1994) indicates that in some parts of Africa women may hold different values and preferences for tree species and use than do men. Not only are certain trees considered men's or women's trees, but different parts of the same tree may be gender specific in use. Thus, women have strong interests in agroforestry programs and their knowledge and beliefs pertaining to such matters are important determinants in the success or failure of an agroforestry crop. As Woodley (1991) aptly states, local ecosystems are best known by those who depend on them.

Research to date indicates that tenure systems are complex, fluid and highly specific. Rights to land and tree use and ownership are shaped by dynamic and evolving cultural, historical and gendered processes (Fortmann, 1988). These rights to land and tree use and ownership ultimately affect individual behaviour directly associated with the success or failure of an agroforestry system. In post-colonial societies, where the formal legal system and traditional customs may contradict one another, it is important to distinguish formal from perceived tenure rights. This research focused on: 1. investigating both the perceived and the formal rights of women to land and tree ownership;

2. determining the effect these rights have on individual and household resource management decisions and behaviours, and; 3. identifying social issues pertinent to agroforestry resource production and use[1].

Purpose of the Study

This study examined the role of women's perceived tenure rights over land and trees in agroforestry resource use and production. An emphasis was placed on data collection at the individual level for purposes of determining how perceived rights, beliefs and norms influence the behaviour of women farmers. Other social issues that affect agroforestry behaviour were also explored during the research process. The behaviours of interest were those which are crucial to the success of an agroforestry initiative, such as planting, care and maintenance of tree and plants, and the uses to which direct products and derived income are put. The locus of control of household agroforestry resources (both products and income) will certainly affect the decisions made regarding their uses. Thus, examining how strongly women perceive their own authority to be in regard to decisions concerning resource use and production, and how women view their tenure rights is crucial in understanding these behaviours.

Theoretical Framework of the Study

Three broad disciplinary approaches characterize most conventional paradigms of agroforestry: environmental ecology, economics, or socio-cultural studies. Occasionally,

---

1 The term agroforestry production refers to the adoption or continuation of agroforestry practices within plots of land used for agricultural production, including home gardens. Agroforestry resource use includes small scale commercial sale and domestic consumption of trees, products from trees, or agricultural crops.

variances of these three are examined, such as the socio-economic aspects of agroforestry systems. Frequently, these dimensions are discussed in terms of the changes experienced because of agroforestry and forestry initiatives (Wilson, 1985). Despite the inextricable nature of these three components, they are consistently presented as distinct and merely related elements that have some undefined relationship to agroforestry. No model has yet been proposed to conceptually identify the arenas of overlap and influence of socio-cultural phenomenon, economic systems and activities, and the biophysical environments on each other *and* agroforestry systems.

Empirically based research views agroforestry primarily in terms of production and technological potential, discounting or ignoring the role of indigenous knowledge and cultural elements in successful farming. Studies that address the human dimension of agroforestry frequently focus on documenting the use of agroforestry crops by indigenous peoples, or the impact of introduced technologies on the local socio-cultural and economic systems (Blair and Olpadwala, 1988; Wilson, 1985). Such interdisciplinary approaches are encouraging; however, these impact studies are frequently blind to the gender relations of farming and insensitive to hidden activities, particularly those of women and children. Wilson (1985) notes the tendency of impact models that focus on economic and social implications to produce ahistorical, apolitical interpretations that ignore the complexities of social inequalities based in relations of class, gender and ethnicity. By virtue of privileging economic relationships over social relationships, the meanings of agrarian change have been greatly oversimplified. Wilson acknowledges that it is not easy to divorce the social milieu from the economic sphere of life and the

relationships of influence are not one way. While approaching an integrated view, Wilson's model does not include the important elements of ecology and environment.

A similar view is expressed by Flora and Santos (1988) who claim that much of the farming systems research in developing nations, particularly as it relates to women, has been undertaken from the perspective of critical sociology. Systems of land ownership and the social relations of labour are the focus of these studies, thus linking the division of labour to gender and economics. Accordingly, the definite nature of women's involvement in farming systems is difficult to assess and consequently is undervalued. To further expand on these studies, Flora and Santos propose "a holistic analysis of existing farming systems, undertaken with an understanding of the containing social and economic conjunctural situation" (p. 208). This promises to be a useful tool in documenting the role of women in agroforestry, however, it too is limiting itself to social and economic factors rather than the whole system. The ultimate goals of this theory and research are to produce programs that provide the needed resources without further stressing the natural and social environments. In their call for a *Rationally Robust Paradigm* in agroforestry research, Giles et. al. (1993) encourage the exploration of alternate ways of knowing, including what they term heuristic convergence. Since deductive methods of learning provide scant insight into rare or unique events, intuitive, contextual, sensory and inductive ways of knowing need to be legitimized as valuable additions to science.

An Ecosystem Model of Agroforestry

To fully appreciate the systemic context of an agroforestry system, all of the components can be seen as embedded in a human ecological framework. Human

ecological theory is a specially adapted version of general systems theory, in which all systems function as a self-stabilizing unit. Input into the system reacts to produce throughput and output, which in turn have varying degrees of further influence on the system through response mechanisms and systems exchange (for a detailed discussion of general systems theory, see Whitechurch and Constantine, 1993). A human ecological framework conceptualizes humans and their structures in systems of dynamic interaction with near and far environments. A basic premise of this approach is that the world's ecological health is a macro-level determinant of the quality of human life. Human decisions and actions at national, communal, familial and individual levels, in turn, determine the health and sustainablility of the earth's resources (Bubolz and Sontag, 1993).

Figure 1 portrays an agroforestry ecosystem within broader level systems using a technique Vayda (1983) calls progressive contextualization. In this technique, layers of detail are defined and made explicit. Progressively contextualizing systems aids in understanding the theoretical distinctions between system boundaries and system interaction. The fact that certain systems will intentionally cut across the boundaries of adjacent systems to take advantage of particular subsystems is acknowledged. One example of this approach is making clear how national and global economies penetrate local economies to access market subsystems and social systems to take advantage of needs subsystems. Progressive contextualization may help to develop inductive, rather than simply deductive, systems classifications that are sensitive to these types of phenomena. This model adapts the four tiered human ecology classification system

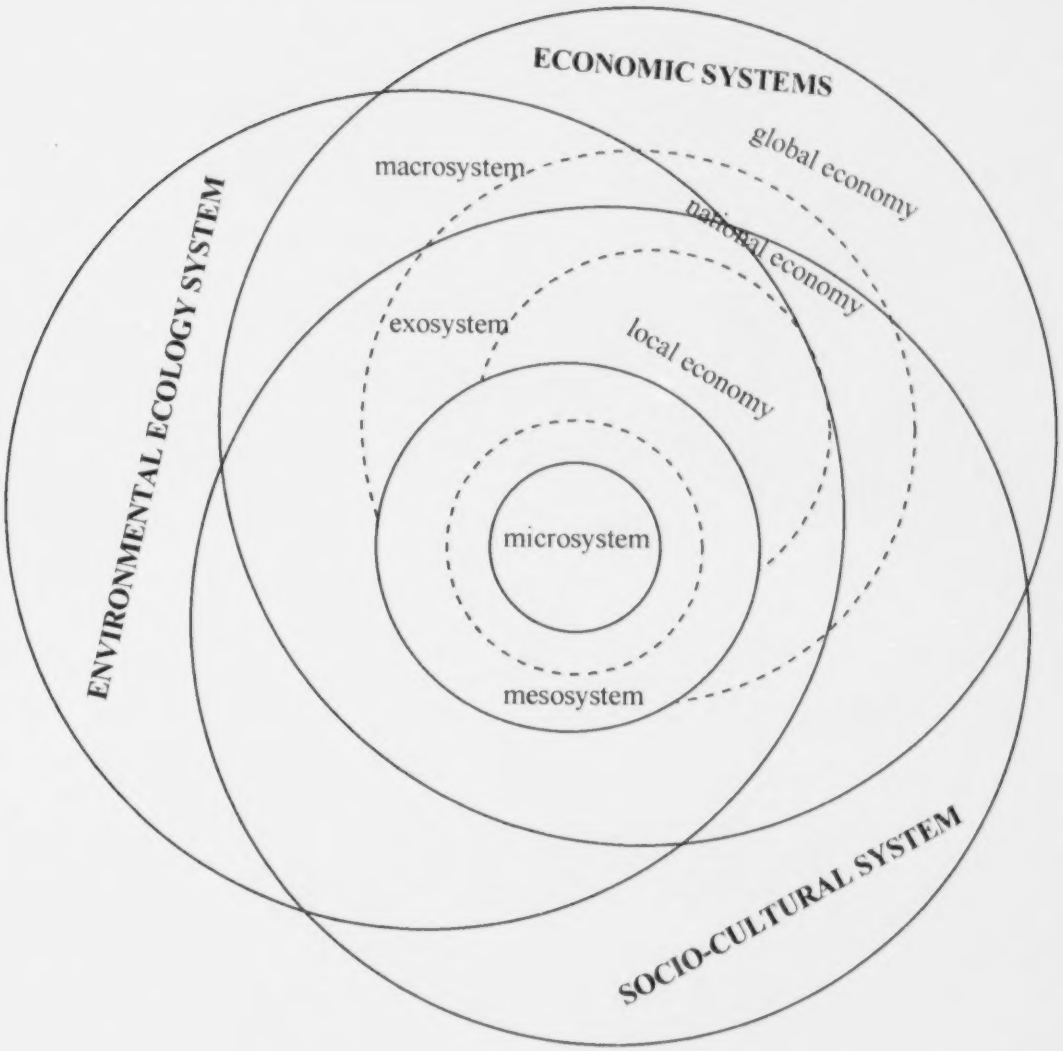


Figure 1. The agroforestry ecosystem.

suggested by Bronfenbrenner (1989) (see Figure 1). The immediate agroforestry system consists of interacting micro and meso systems. The widened context consists of exo and macro systems.

The first system level, shown in detail in Figure 2, the **agroforestry microsystem** consists of the objective agroforestry elements: trees, plants, animals, soil, land, marginal tracts of forest, growing seasons, local and imported species, nutritional water needs of the organisms, and all other concrete elements of an agroforestry system.

The **exosystem** is the adjoining environment that provides a context and directs the micro and meso systems. The exosystem directly influences the agroforestry system, but is external to it. As is shown in Figure 1, the exosystem consists of the three variables discussed earlier, environmental ecosystem, the socio-cultural milieu, and the most immediate levels of the economy. While it can be argued that economy is an extension (and indeed a construct) of the socio-cultural system, in research analysing the various aspects of agroforestry systems, economic and social considerations are often treated as related but distinct components. To illustrate the point of the interdependent, overlapping nature of these influences, the economy is treated as a distinct component in the model.

The **agroforestry macrosystem,** as implied by the name, is the larger environment to the agroforestry system. While the macrosystem does not touch the agroforestry system directly, it can have profound impacts upon it as in the case of the global economy or the national or global environment. A primary purpose in depicting the macrosystem is to locate the exosystem clearly within a region of equal overlap between the natural and human constructed environments, in the hope that one set of values will not be privileged

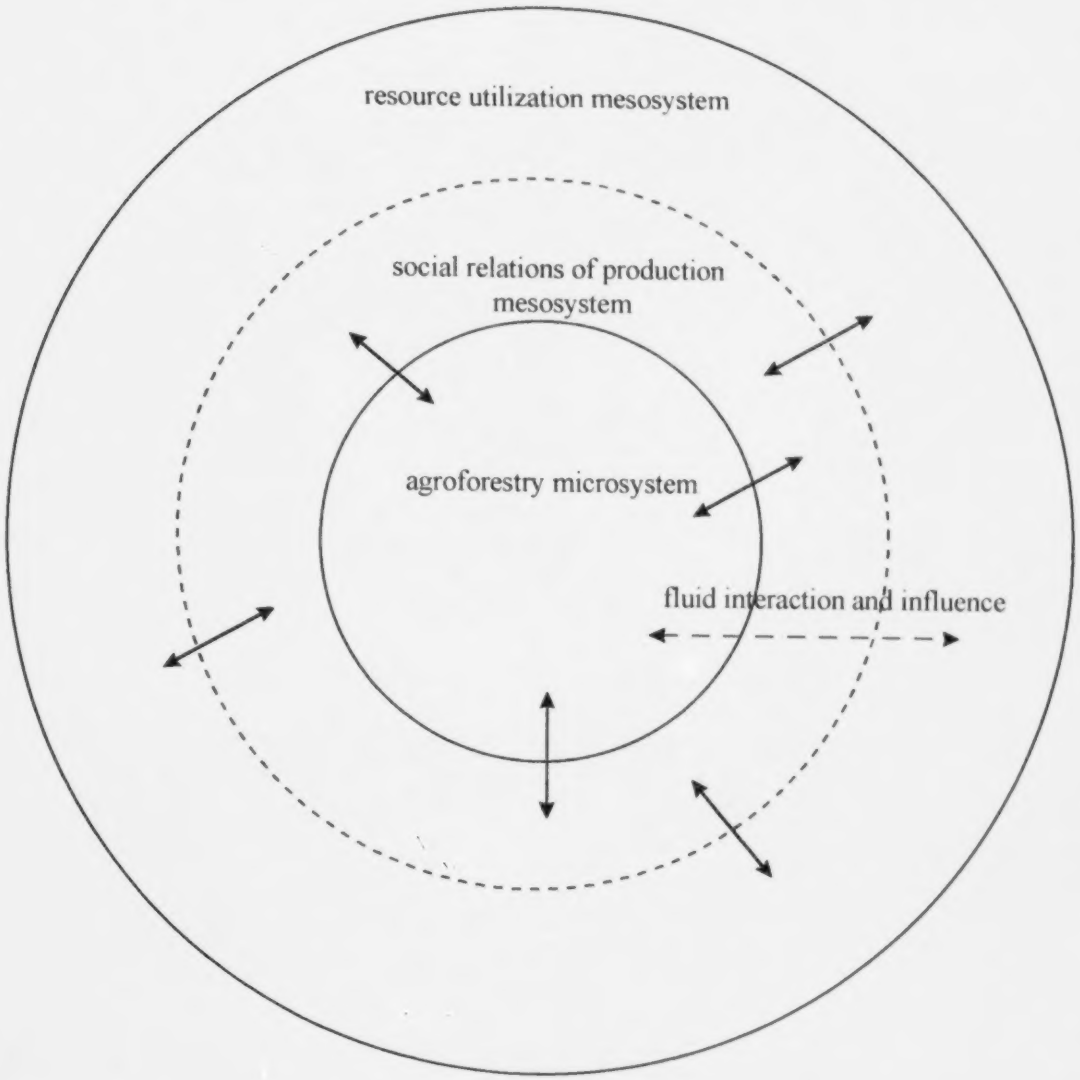


Figure 2. The agroforestry microsystem and mesosystem.

or considered more important than the other.

The success and continuity of the agroforestry microsystem are dependent upon the interactions within the **mesosystem** which consists of two dimensions presented below (see Figure 2). The mesosystem is usually depicted as the intangible aspects of human systems. Some models actually show the mesosystem as above the other more concrete dimensions of the system.

The first dimension of the mesosystem in this model is identified as the **social relations of production mesosystem.** This crucial process component enables the objective agroforestry system or microsystem to be transformed into usable resources. Included within this level are such factors as knowledge, both indigenous and scientific; ability and willingness to use technologies; division and responsibility for labour, care, maintenance and harvesting of agroforestry resources; gender relations; cultural restrictions and expectations; access to and control over land, livestock, trees and their resulting resources; and decision making power. Inter and intra household resource use and management practises also occur within this level. The successful production of usable resources from the agroforestry system, and what is done with those resources, depends upon the events occurring within the social relations of production mesosystem.

An example of this interdependence of the microsystem and the social relations of production mesosystem is clearly depicted in a case about cash crop tea farming in Kericho, Kenya (Sorenson, 1990). Being a commercially oriented pursuit, tea bushes cultivated for the export market are primarily a male interest. As a result, the land on which the tea is grown is controlled by the male head of household and any income gained

from the tea fields belongs to the man. Tea farming, however, is extremely labour intensive. All but the wealthiest of farmers thus depend upon their wives as a vital source of labour to maintain and pick the tea. In cases where males were unreasonably spending all income on themselves, and not contributing sufficiently to the household expenses, the wives withdrew their labour. As the traditional responsibilities of Kipsigis women are to directly provide food and reproductive labour, women maintain the right to refuse to participate in cash cropping initiatives. When the women withdrew their labour, the tea bushes died or became overgrown, thus halting production. In this manner, the social relations between males and females heavily dictated the success of farming initiatives.

The other identified dimension of the second level is the **mesosystem of resource utilization**. Whether resources are available to be used for domestic consumption, trade or commercial sale depends upon the outcome of the social relations surrounding the production and the decisions made about the material assets of the operation. As shown from the example above, whether or not the agroforestry crop ever becomes a usable resource depends significantly upon the influence of the social relations of production on choices for the tangible aspects of the agroforestry system. Unequal or *invisible* social relations of production take their toll on the lived realities of women and children within this mesosystem. In rural African households, women are responsible for the reproductive tasks associated with maintaining and reproducing the family, regardless of whether a male head of household exists. What varies from household to household is the amount of time spent by women on income earning activities (Engberg, et. al., 1994). Female heads of household in rural areas are responsible for both subsistence production and income

generation. At issue is who benefits from the resources that are produced. The implications for the priorities for specific agroforestry resource production of these households thus depend upon the labour available, the willingness to take risks, the long and short term goals of the participants, and competing demands, particularly on women's time.

Women's Involvement in Agroforestry

While a full range of human relationships within agroforestry is included in Figure 1, this study is particularly concerned with the lives of women and their ties to agroforestry systems. These issues are most notably contained within the **social relations of production mesosystem** and in the **socio-cultural exosystem,** particularly in the norms and expectations of the larger society. Gender plays a crucial role in the perception of individual rights to trees. Gender relations and the sexual division of labour are important considerations in identifying the specific circumstances faced by women as agroforesters and why these issues must be addressed to ensure success of agroforestry.

Ecofeminist analyses of women's roles in environmental health show there is a strong link between women's activities and the local landscape. Sachs (1992) notes that in many locales, women have promoted biodiversity and sustainability through indigenous seed selection and forest conservation practices. Alternately, the contribution of women to the degradation of biosystems can be linked to the pursuit of resources for household consumption (Collins, 1991). Exploring the knowledge systems of women could be a fruitful activity for agroforestry researchers, as the women may have an unique and detailed knowledge of their environment unknown to local men.

Gender analysis has shown there to be differential access to and control of resources, and inequality of labour responsibility between women and men (Fortmann and Rocheleau, 1985; Moser, 1993). Women are known to have distinct knowledge about resource use and production that is frequently undervalued or dismissed (Cashman, 1991; Collins, 1991; Sachs, 1992). Also, women may even hold different preferences for the type and species of resources produced and used (Watson, 1994). Finally, women cannot be considered a homogeneous unit of analysis. Marital status, social class, age, religious beliefs and cultural history are among the many interacting factors shaping the reality of women's gendered lives (Spelman, 1988). To produce a comprehensive synthesis of women's relationships with agroforestry systems, the agroforestry system itself must be defined as an interdependent, interactive system.

In chapter VI of this thesis, the lives and responsibilities of Kabale women farmers are located within the model in order to depict the inter-related quality of agroforestry and many other aspects of their lives. Using the life history information, their triple responsibilities of reproductive, productive, and community work are identified and one of the life history participants, Mauda, is used as a case study to construct a human ecological model of her life. The model is presented as an approach to understanding the lives of rural farm women and an illustration of how individual women's circumstances affect their greater surroundings.

Gender Relations in Agroforestry

This study was not about gender, it was about women. However, women's lives are largely defined and constructed around cultural concepts of gender and social

relationships based on gender. One's self concept, as well as one's perceptions of where one fits into the social structure is a product, in part, of gender socialization. Thus, gender identity and gender based relations are considered in relation to the theoretical framework of this study.

Gender identity is a complex social construction determined by the interaction of many aspects of an individual's life. Gender relations are constructed similarly, therefore, gender cannot exist as an independent social category. Race, class, religion, socio-economic and cultural history act together to influence the factors that determine gender (Spelman, 1988). This notion extends to the concepts of gender relations and sexual divisions of labour, or the control that men have over women's work (Wilson, 1985). Just as gender itself is defined through various other factors, men and women do not interact solely based on gender. While the broad category of culture may contribute insight into particular modes of social and economic responsibility, it is imperative to know historically and socially specific information if an accurate profile of gender relations is to be drawn for any particular community.

Various examples from developing southern nations show that labour divisions, while defined as gender based, are influenced by associated factors. Access to land varies by class, gender, and marital status, as does land use. Age can also be an influential variable. For example, the transgressing of gender boundaries to allow women to own land and participate in cash cropping is socially discouraged in Kipsigis communities in Kenya. In those cases where women have forged ahead and established themselves as cash crop farmers, younger women met with much greater social resistance to their new roles

than did older women (von Bulow, 1991).

Political and economic systems can have obvious or subtle impacts on the gendered division of labour. In Latin America, for example, the greater the capitalist penetration in an area and the more a farming unit is integrated into a market system, the less segregated is the division of labour by gender. The better paying jobs are taken by men, regardless of the traditional norms surrounding labour. This transformation has, however yet to diffuse to the reproductive, unpaid realm:

> ... both men and women assume that men cannot do women's jobs. Women still cook and haul water. Women and children still gather wood. But women also sell their labour to pick cotton and coffee, and due to temporary male migration, they are also involved in subsistence production on the small plots. The poorer they are, the more likely they are to be doing this (Flora and Santos, 1986; 211).

To fully understand where women fit into the matrix of agroforestry practice and use, the various mechanisms that act to construct gender identities and determine gender relations must be considered. While gender is not equivalent to sex, it is a social phenonemon closely related to the sex of an individual that affects individuals and groups. Figure 3 is a conceptualization of the interacting social variables that contribute to the construction of gender. It is important to emphasize that Figure 3 represents a *social process*. This process operates equally within male spheres of socialization as in female spheres of socialization to create gender relations and community expectations.

At the centre of Figure 3 is the individual and her self concept as defined by gender. A gendered self concept is considered here to be the roles, expectations and

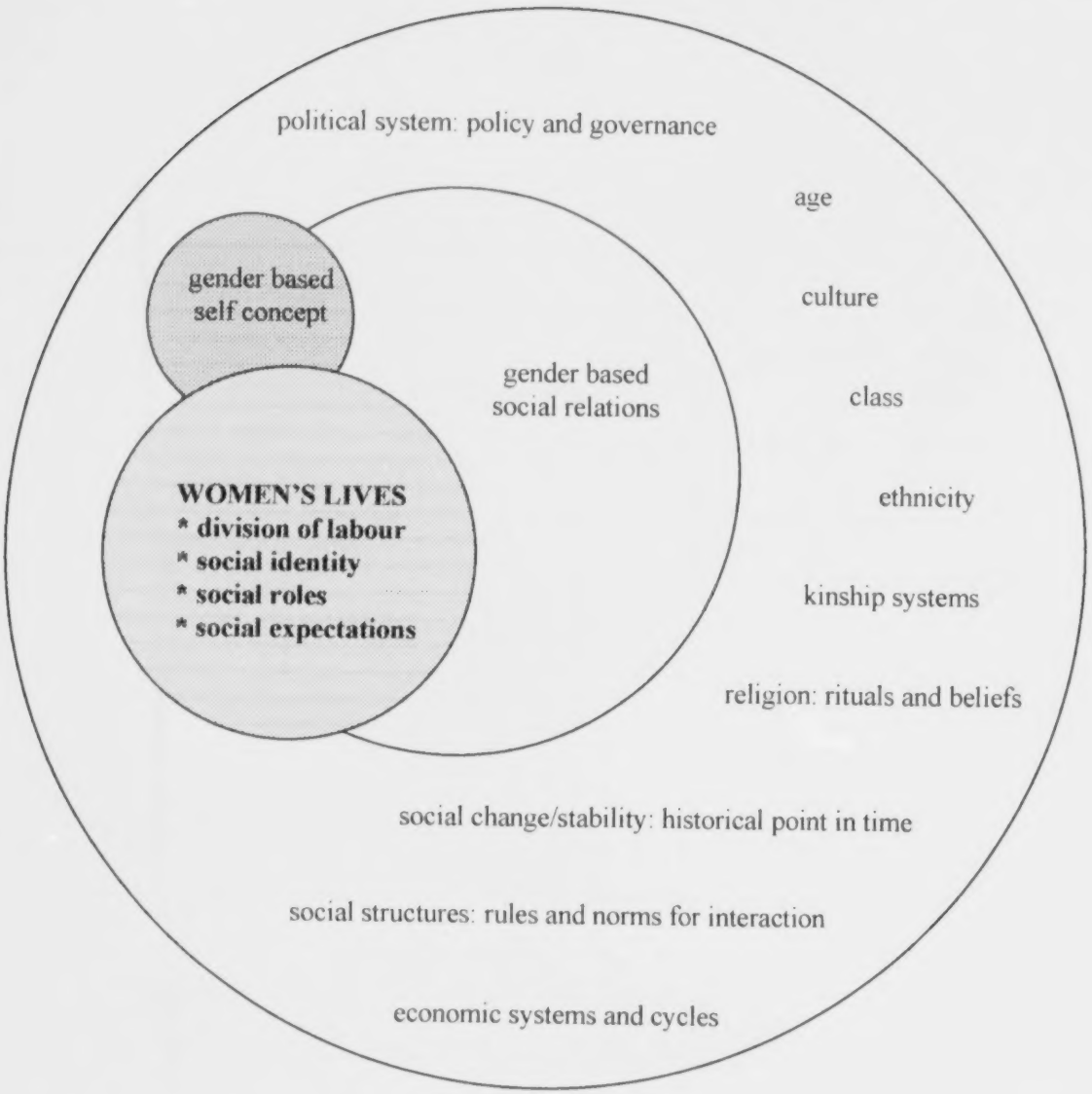


Figure 3. Socio-cultural elements of gender identity and gender relations.

values placed on one's self in relation to the immediate social system. The individual is closely surrounded, and thus affected by social relations that operate within her society. Encompassing and creating both rules and norms of social interaction, and individual self concepts are the social, cultural and economic factors that continuously interact on a larger, more abstract level to produce social systems and relationships. All three components, in their relationship to individuals and communities, act to produce practical manifestations. These practical manifestations are individual lives and actions.

The variables that impact on gendered divisions of labour manifest themselves within the responsibilities of women's multiple and competing roles. Many of these responsibilities are considered 'natural' and 'women's work', and therefore are undervalued and invisible. Drawing an accurate profile of gender relations is important in the study of agroforestry systems to illuminate the tasks and responsibilities that are central to success of an operation but nevertheless have been made invisible through gender relations.

Moser's (1989) concept of the triple roles of women provides a useful tool to draw out those activities that are most likely to be invisible. She sees these three areas of women's work as reproductive, productive and community. The demands of and skills required for each dimension are unique. A useful addition to this concept would be the element of social meaning attached by women to their roles and the priorities they place on their responsibilities. Issues of meaning largely determine the practical manifestations of gender relations within a given community. Social meanings can often be identified through discussion with women about the elements outlined in Figure 3. Constructed meaning can then be useful as a springboard from which to identify and assess gender

relations. Combined with the knowledge that gender relations consist of scores of factors, this concept of triple roles can be a useful tool in detecting who does what in potential agroforestry plans. Careful examination of gender relations and women's roles provides the necessary information from which to assess interests, needs, and barriers in agroforestry production.

Utilizing the concepts of gender relations and gender identity within a human ecological framework, the knowledge and values of women agroforesters can be identified and analysed within a relevant context. Women's perceptions of their own tenure security is one place to begin searching for the interests, needs and barriers in agroforestry production.

Objectives

The objectives of this research were as follows:

1. Through analysis of relevant documentation and interview material, to document the rights of women farmers to land and tree use and ownership, both customary and formal;
2. Through analysis of documentation and interview material, to identify other important social variables that have an impact on women's agroforestry production;
3. To explore how knowledgable women actually are about their rights to land and trees as reflected in the statements of women farmers;
4. To determine the priorities, values and social meanings women ascribe to their perceived rights to trees and land from life history accounts; and,
5. To analyse life history, non-participant observation, and interview data to identify relationships between women's perceived social reality and agroforestry production

behaviours and resource management.

Rationale and Significance of the Study

The insights gained from this study are of both scholarly and practical value. While knowledge of how perceptions and beliefs shape community life is of theoretical interest to social scientists, the practical applications of the findings of this study are useful to administrators, planners and agroforestry extensions staff interested in reforestation and agroforestry production initiatives. Social scientists, development workers and government agencies concerned with alleviating poverty and oppression in rural African communities, particularly as they affect women and children, will also find value in this study.

As noted in the introduction, agroforestry is considered to be a promising approach to solving problems of environmental deterioration, resource shortages, and land use. However, without a detailed knowledge base of the social issues affecting individual and household behaviour related to agroforestry production, the adoption of agroforestry programs and the ensuing success of those programs may be at risk. Changing marriage and divorce patterns, unstable economic and political conditions, and other factors have contributed to the increasing numbers of female headed households in contemporary Africa (Horn, 1994; Lauras-Lecoh, 1990). Women not only must continue to produce food and other necessities for their families, they must generate income and tend to the jobs previously done by men (Fortmann and Rocheleau, 1985). Women's access to and control of resources at the household and community levels, as well as how they perceive access and control inevitably will affect how work is prioritized, what work is undertaken,

and how the benefits of work are utilized. Who utilizes the benefits of women's labour is also a critical issue in these decision making processes. Social and economic policies must reflect these realities if they are to be effective in encouraging the adoption of sustainable and equitable agroforestry practices.

Community educators and extension agents will find further practical value in the information pertaining to women's perceptions of their rights and their actual guaranteed rights as they relate to local education issues. In many cases, not having access to or knowledge of institutionalized rights is paramount to not having those rights.

Setting of the Study: Kabale District, Uganda

The study was conducted in Kabale District, Uganda. Kabale District was chosen because it is the site of an ICRAF/AFRENA research field office. The activities of the field office are reviewed later in this chapter.

Uganda is a land locked country surrounded by Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Zaire and Sudan. It covers a span of 241,038 square kilometers, 17% of which is made up of lakes, rivers and marshes, including half of Lake Victoria. The vegetation is diverse and varies from savannah to tropical rainforest. The ethnic composition is equally diverse, with over 40 distinct tribal groups. Uganda is one of the least urbanized African countries, with close to 90% of its population residing in the rural areas (Barton and Wamai, 1994).

Political History

After gaining independence from the British in 1962, Uganda's political climate became characterized by dictators and violence. The first elected government of Milton Obote was overthrown by the military, under the direction of the Minister of Defense Idi

Amin, in 1971. More than 800,000 people, many of them from the educated elite, were murdered under the rule of Amin. During this political era, the Asian population was expelled from Uganda, and the economic base reverted from one of export production to an economy reliant upon subsistence agriculture.

In the midst of a war with Tanzania, Amin was ousted from office, and the government was again taken over by Milton Obote. The suceeding period, known as Obote II (1980-1986), is now considered to have been bloodier and more despotic than the Amin years. Political murders, corruption and economic decay typical of the Amin regime continued. The National Resistance Movement (NRM), headed by the current Ugandan president Yoweri Museveni, overthrew the Obote II government in January of 1986. Lateef (1995) characterizes Uganda at this point as;

> ...a nation shattered by years of gross misrule, civil war, political instability, and ethnic and religious strife. The economy was characterized by high inflation and intense balance of payment pressures resulting from severe macro-economic imbalances. A once impressive economic and social infrastructure lay devastated by war and lack of maintenance. Farms and industrial enterprises lay abandoned as farmers, workers and managers fled in search of safety... (p. 20).

Since 1986, the internal security situation has greatly improved, especially in the central and southwest regions of Uganda (Barton and Wamai, 1994). However, inflation and unemployment continued to plague Uganda. In 1987, the NRM government signed

economic structural adjustment agreements[2] with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in an effort to stabilize the economy. Economic growth in the last nine years has been dramatic, but wealth is not always distributed evenly, and there is growing evidence that a large segment of the population are at or below the subsistence level (Barton and Wamai, 1994; Obbo, 1991). Due to the subsistence nature of the economy, and the associated lack of internal tax revenue, Uganda is still highly dependent on external funding sources. A new constitution was adopted in October, 1995 and an election in May of 1996 re-elected Yoweri Museveni to the presidency.

Uganda is divided into a number of administrative regions, termed districts. The districts are further sub-divided into counties and sub-counties. Within the sub-counties are parishes that usually consist of a main village and the surrounding farms. The village is the smallest administrative unit of the current system of governance.

Resistance Councils (RCs) were introduced by the NRM in an effort to bring popular and participatory democracy to the country. The RC system operates through elected committees and councils at village, parish, sub-county, county and district levels. Each RC has nine members responsible for issues such as health, gender, children, and defence. Every council must have a female member in the position of Secretary for Women. The RC is responsible to identify local problems and development needs, and find solutions for these needs. The village and parish level RCs are also the first rung of appeal

---

2

Structural adjustment programs (SAPs) are defined as "...the *sustained* pursuit of a programme of policy reforms that is designed to reduce economic and financial imbalances arising from domestic or external shocks and to address policy deficiencies that are impeding progress towards accelerated economic growth." (Lateef, 1995; 20).

for legal issues such as land disputes and family disturbances. If the dispute cannot be resolved at these levels, then it moves up into a higher level RC.

Kabale District

Prior to 1990, when district boundaries were redefined, the districts of Kisoro, Kabale and Rukungiri comprised one district of Kigezi. Kigezi was the last district to come under British rule, in 1912. The first Europeans settled in the area in 1891, and the civil administration headquarters were moved to the present district capital town of Kabale in 1914 (Purseglove, 1946). The current district spans approximately 1, 827 square kilometres of land, of which 1, 680 square kilometres are arable. Kabale District has three counties and one municipality. Kabale town acts as the administrative centre for the district, as well as a major employment and trading centre.

Kabale District lies in the extreme southwest corner of Uganda, in the foothills of the Virunga Mountain chain (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2.) It is a rolling, mountainous region of lush, green vegetation, with annual rainfall averages of 1000 to 1500 mm. The altitude of the region varies from 1500 to 2700 m above sea level. The mean annual temperature is 17 degrees C, with a mean minimum of 14 degrees C, and a mean maximum temperature of 22 degrees C. It is usually cool and humid with heavy fog in the morning. Prior to deforestation of the region for agricultural purposes, the hills were heavily blanketed with bamboo and tropical rainforest vegetation. The soils are volcanic in origin, and extremely fertile. The treeless hillsides are a patchwork of small, terraced plots, used primarily for subsistence production.

The staple crop grown in the district is sorghum, and other main crops include

Figure 4.1. Map of Uganda.

Figure 4.2. Kabale District, southwest Uganda.

sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, climbing beans, peas and maize (Kabale Department of Lands and Survey, n/d). Plantain bananas and garden vegetables are often grown together in household gardens. Most of the land is under small scale cultivation for household consumption and petty trading use. Much of the swampy valley lands have been drained for either cultivation or dairy production. A few well-to-do farmers keep dairy cattle for commercial production (Place, 1994).

Demographics

The population density of the district is estimated at 246.1 persons per square kilometre (Statistics Department, Uganda Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 1992). Dense population is not a new phenomenon for the area, however, it has intensified during recent years. According to Purseglove (1946), in 1943, the population density of all of Kigezi was 359.8 people per square mile (138.9 people per square kilometre). A resettlement scheme initiated in 1946 relocated communities to nearby, less densely populated areas, temporarily helping to alleviate the pressure. The population in the District continued to grow. The average annual population growth rate for the period 1980 to 1991 was 2.17 percent (Statistics Department, Uganda Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 1992), indicating that the population pressure in the district is likely to continue increasing in the future.

According to the 1991 housing and population census, the total population for Kabale District is 417, 218 persons. Of these, 204, 271 are rural females. The rural females account for 49 percent of the total rural population. The population pyramid for the district is very broad based, with 59 percent of the female population between 0 and

19 years of age. Thirty three percent of households are female headed, and the average family size is 5.0 persons, with an average birth rate of 6.5 children per woman.

Eighty five percent of households in the district are engaged in full-time agriculture. Of this segment, 84.6% are dependent on subsistence agriculture as the primary source of livelihood. Eighty five percent of the able bodied population in Kabale are agricultural workers (Kabale Department of Lands and Survey, n/d). This figure is an aggregated estimate. Since *Bakiga* women's cultural role includes producing food for the family, the figure for women is likely higher.

Cultural Context

The dominant cultural group in the area are the *Bakiga*. The *Bakiga* are a Bantu group, thought to have originated from what is present day Rwanda (Nzita and Mbaga-Niwampa, 1995; Purseglove, 1946). They are characterised in much of the literature as being a hard working, industrious, conservative, and suspicious people (Clayton, 1993; Kigula, 1993; Nzita and Mbaga-Niwampa, 1995; Purseglove, 1946). They speak *Rukiga*, a Bantu family language. The literature on *Bakiga* culture and social norms is scant and lacking in detail, but some generalities have been stated by authors.

Traditionally, the *Bakiga* were organised into clans. Each clan had several patrilineages, with each lineage having a head, the *Omukuru w'omuryango* (Nzita and Mbaga-Niwampa, 1995).

The *Bakiga* are a polygamous society. In the past, the number of wives any man could have was only limited by the number of wives he could afford. The more wives a man had, the greater was his security; therefore, it was not uncommon for a senior *Bakiga*

man to have as many as eight to ten wives (Kigula, 1993). The basic social unit was the extended family, thus the *Bakiga* highly valued a large family for purposes of security of the lives and property of its members.

In acquiring new wives, the man was expected to pay a brideprice and he had to provide a plot of land for each woman. Each new wife received her own share of land and was responsible for her own household. Co-wives lived together within the same stockaded compound, with individual households for each wife and her children. Today, co-wives may share a household, but this is uncommon and usually is due to poverty and a general lack of resources (Kaloni, 1995). Most co-wives maintain their own residences and do not share any resources with one another. The literature on *Bakiga* culture states that in the past, successive wives received smaller portions of the existing wives share of land. For example, a second wife will receive a smaller portion of that held by the first wife, a third wife will receive a small parcel from the lands of both the first and second wives, and so on with each new wife receiving increasingly smaller parcels. It is a common perception within Kabale District that this practice still occurs (Guinand, 1995). However, interviews in Kabale district and a review of court files indicate that "senior" wives will not typically tolerate having their land taken from them and given to another woman. Rather, the husband is responsible for finding new land for the new wife.

Bakiga marriage involves payment of a bridewealth to the bride's father. In the past, the marriage would be arranged between the fathers or uncles of the bride and groom, on their behalf. The brideprice agreed on depended upon the wealth of both families, and consisted of cows, goats and digging hoes.

In contemporary times, marriages are now willfully arranged by the bride and groom on their own behalf. Bridewealth is still commonly paid, and is often in the form of cows, goats and a sum of money. It is considered bad luck to sell the cows acquired from bridewealth, but families may use the bridewealth from a daughter to pay the bridewealth for a son. In cases where the woman's parents have died, bridewealth is not paid. If a couple are residing together, but no formal marriage has taken place, the man must pay the bridewealth to the woman's parents if she dies before they marry (Karwemera, 1996). The practice of polygamy still occurs, but is becoming much less common due to the influence of Christian religions, westernization, and lack of land and resources.

Divorce was a common occurrence in traditional society (Nzita and Mbaga-Niwampa, 1995). Husbands or wives could approach the village elders for a divorce. If the disagreement could not be resolved, the divorce was allowed. Usually, the bridewealth had to be returned upon divorce. The wife was permitted to remarry, but she would fetch less bridewealth the second time. Contemporary marriages that end in divorce, especially those in remote rural areas, may require a return of the bridewealth to the groom. Although it is not widespread, this practice still acts as a potential barrier to women seeking to escape a bad marriage (Mubiru, 1995).

Bakiga women are the caregivers of their society, and as such, are responsible for the care and upbringing of the family, including food production. In contemporary times, the responsibility for generating school fees often falls on the women. In Kabale District, 60% of rural women are illiterate (compared with 40% of the rural men). As one may expect, the percentage of illiteracy increases with age. For the 10-19 age cohort, 47% are

illiterate. The 20-39 age group are 54% illiterate, while the 40 to 64 bracket are 87% illiterate. The largest group of illiterate women are the 65 and older cohort, with a 98% illiteracy rate (compared to 82% for males of the same age group) (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, Uganda, 1992) . Clearly, primary education for girls is still an unmet need in the region.

Agroforestry in Kabale District

The *Bakiga* are intensive agriculturalists with a history of shifting cultivation in the area. Goats, sheep and chickens are commonly kept, and many of the wealthier households also keep a few cows. The established land practices, coupled with overpopulation has lead to intense land pressure, increasing plot fragmentation, cultivation of very steep slopes (some as steep as 50 degrees), and reduction in the use of fallow. As a result, there is a grave concern in the area about declining soil fertility and increasing erosion having an impact on crop yields and the future productive capacity of the land (Olson, 1995). Since 1987, the International Centre for Research in Agroforestry (ICRAF), in conjunction with the Agroforestry Research Networks for Africa (AFRENA), have been working to promote and develop agroforestry in Kabale as a potential solution to the land degradation problems.

Aside from the karutusi (*Eucalytpus* sp.) woodlots that dot the hillsides, deforestation for agricultural production has resulted in a virtually treeless landscape. Karutusi is an exotic species, first introduced during colonial times by the British Colonial Agricultural Officers. Karutusi as a timber crop has become the most widely desired species for planting (Peden, 1992), replacing the black wattle (*Acacia mearnsii*), which

was once the most common tree species planted by villagers (Purseglove, 1946). Most of the indigenous forest species have disappeared, and there is now a chronic fuelwood and timber shortage. According to Peden (1995), there is a 40% deficit in fuelwood production in the area, and over 90% of the wood used by villagers is from karutusi woodlots. Thus, increasing fuelwood and food crop yields are also primary goals of the agroforestry programs. Since 1990, ICRAF/AFRENA Uganda have been distributing multipurpose tree seedlings to farmers and women's groups in Kabale in an effort to encourage tree planting and agroforestry practices. A follow up study of the success of these seedlings was being undertaken by ICRAF scientists during the data collection period of this study.

Although *Bakiga* women have always been the primary agricultural workers, it was less common for them to plant trees. In 1989, in an attempt to encourage women to start planting trees, the Ugandan Minister of Environmental Protection stated that it is a right of women to plant trees. Since that time, many women's groups in Kabale have approached the ICRAF/AFRENA project for assistance in establishing and maintaining nurseries (Peden, 1992). The groups were met with initial challenges of lack of skills to run a nursery, and gender constraints to tree planting. Community men, whose traditional land tenure and feelings of dominance were threatened by the women's activities, uprooted seedlings and grazed their animals on them (Kemerwa et. al., 1994). To overcome this barrier, men were welcomed into the groups, and the Two Wings agroforestry groups were formed. Since that time, the women's agroforestry efforts have flourished. Many of the groups have increased their cash income and their supplies of

fuelwood, fodder, fruit, stakes for climbing beans, vegetables, and herbs, and have improved their farming skills. "They have gained self-confidence, improved their planning and management skills, and even learned that they have legal rights. Agroforestry has opened doors to a wide range of development projects" (Kemerwa, et. al., 1994; 16).

While most rural women in Kabale District are farmers, most are not members of Two Wings groups. Thus, it is important to gain an understanding of the issues affecting average village women in their daily activities. The decisions that a woman farmer makes regarding the land determine what is grown, when it is grown, and how it is grown. Thus, an exploration of women's decision making power over land use, and the factors that impact on the decision making process, is a vital step in understanding the entire farming system and its links to the surrounding meso and macro systems.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Anthropologists and sociologists have documented how gender determined divisions of labour and access to resources operate and differ in various cultures and locales. Ecofeminists have articulated the link between gender and the environment through women's roles in work, family and community. Time use studies documenting women's work in southern nations clearly show the strong relationship between women's contributions and the survival of rural indigenous communities.

These studies indicate that knowledge of the gender based differences in work, access to resources, preference of resources, knowledge base, and social and economic constraints to farming are essential if a meaningful understanding of rural farming systems is to be gained. As well, women's access to income, decision making authority and spending patterns are important indicators in understanding household structure and dynamics. For example, studies have shown that women and men do not exercise the same amount of control over income expenditure, nor do they make similar decisions in how to allocate household resources (Chimedza, 1990; World Health Organization, 1990). All of these factors are strongly influenced not only by one's gender, but by race, ethnicity, social class, status, cultural background, life history and social history.

There are strong indications that in the translation of academic knowledge to practical action, important information is being lost. Farming systems research and extension (FSR/E) in developing southern nations often excludes women and does not account for their importance in rural farming systems (Chimedza, 1990; Fortmann, 1986;

Fortmann and Rocheleau, 1985).

Women are often the primary users of agroforestry products, conserve and use much of the traditional knowledge of farming practices, and act informally to manage communal natural resources. In addition, women are the primary caregivers of their children and responsible to provide and prepare most of the family's food. In areas where male out-migration is high, women are also doing traditionally male defined agricultural jobs (Fortmann and Rocheleau, 1985). "As the primary food producers of the world, women are closely linked to the land. As the fuel gatherers and household cooks, they are linked to the forests. As the universal water carriers, they are linked to aquatic resources" (Davidson, 1993; 6). It is with this perspective in mind that the relevant literature is reviewed.

Agroforestry Systems

Agroforestry is a land use system in which agronomic, animal and tree crops are raised on the same parcel of land, either in sequence or simultaneously. The crops can be indigenous or imported species and planted or naturally occurring growth. In tropical southern nations, where agroforestry practices originated, farming is typically small scale and subsistence oriented (Woods and Ostermeier, 1985). The traditional method of agroforestry farming involves clearing a small area within a forest by cutting and burning. The land is cultivated until the soil is depleted of nutrients. The farmer then clears another area for planting, leaving the former plot to reforest naturally. Called *slash and burn* or *shifting agriculture*, a plot of land would be left to rejuvenate for 15 to 20 years. This practice provides maximum production per unit of land, and is ecologically sustainable

providing that the fallow periods are long enough to allow the soil to rejuvenate (Woods and Ostermeier, 1985). Although population expansion, economic crisis and the shift to a market economy in the developing world has caused many shifting cultivators to adopt other farming practices, it is still a widely used technique. According to Fortmann (1986) slash and burn agriculture is practiced by 300 million people on nearly half of the agricultural land in the tropics. Other types of agroforestry commonly employed in developing nations include alley cropping, contour vegetation strips, natural forest foraging, living fences around home sites and crops, and home gardens combining trees with plants (Nair, 1992; Rocheleau, Weber, & Field-Juma, 1988).

Agricultural communities often also depend upon forests. Resources derived from forests include food, animal fodder, fuel wood, canopy shelter, fertilizers, medicinal herbs and plants, fibre for handicrafts and weaving, wood for artisan work and other necessities related to economic, social, and cultural life (Fortmann, 1986). As noted in the introduction, the *Bakiga* are intensive agriculturalists with a history of practicing shifting cultivation. However, few farmers have enough land to practice proper fallow methods so this technique is no longer practical. Aside from the intentionally planted woodlots, tree planting is restricted to home gardens and field boundaries. As such, there is no other recognizable traditional systems of agroforestry practiced in the area (Place, 1993).

Land and Tree Tenure: Definitions and Issues

Issues of tenure largely focus on long term access and ownership of land and trees. As pointed out by Fortmann and Bruce (1988), having control of a parcel of land does not necessarily mean that one controls the tree resources growing on the land. Rights can be

highly specialized and complicated, with particular rules applying to specific tree species or parts of trees.

Factors influencing the nature of tenure in a particular African community include farm size and layout, inheritance customs, and gender. Long term investments by small scale farmers in land (including the planting of trees) are more common when the farmer owns larger parcels of land (Brokensha & Castro, 1984; Scherr & Oduol, 1988) and the parcels are closer to the house (Place, 1994). Other farm characteristics influencing tree planting behaviour are variable and location specific.

The most common method of land acquisition in sub-Saharan Africa is inheritance. Land is typically passed from male to male; however, the descent pattern can be either matrilineal or patrilineal. Matrilineal systems, which pass land to males following the mother's family tree, is thought to create a disincentive for men to invest in land (Place, 1994). Either pattern creates long term insecurity for women, who typically farm the land ultimately owned by their husbands, in-laws, or fathers. In the event of a death or divorce, women can and often do lose all claim and access to the land they have worked (Rocheleau, 1988).

Women in sub-Saharan Africa lack secure rights to resources and are typically granted only secondary rights as a wife, regardless of who invests the most labour (Fortmann & Rocheleau, 1985; Rocheleau, 1988). Work by Caveness et. al. (1993) in Senegal indicates that land ownership and availability of labour are the two most significant factors contributing to a sense of security for farmers, and hence, adoption of agroforestry practices. Increasing incidence of separation, divorce or abandonment of

women are also factors discouraging women from investing in trees and agroforestry plots. Studies by Watson (1994) and Jacobs (1993) show that if there is a risk of losing access to trees and the resources produced from trees, women are less likely to plant them. A study by Francis (1987), however, concluded that Nigerian women's lack of labour resources is more influential in impeding alley cropping adoption than is insecure land tenure.

Insecure tenure discourages investment of time and labour (Place, 1994); however, there is a body of literature indicating that farmers may plant trees with the purpose of strengthening tenure rights to land parcels under insecure ownership arrangements such as tenancy or communal plots (Fortmann & Bruce, 1988). This activity is typically done by men, as women usually lack the social power or presence to assert a claim (Place, 1994).

Tanzanian women suffer several social constraints to tree planting. These include needing their husbands' permission to plant trees, lack of tenure rights, little involvment in land use decision making processess, and lack of control over their own time and labour (Ghamunga and Msangula, 1993). A similar situation exists in Burundi, where a woman must have ownership, as well as access to land, in order to plant and manage trees. However, women have no principal right to claim land and are excluded from succession (Guinand and Hitimana, 1994).

In Kabale District, land tenure is predominantly customary (75% of arable land). Slightly more than two percent (2.4%) of arable land is estimated to be held as freehold, while the remaining 22.6% is leaseheld land (Kabale Department of Lands and Survey,

n/d). Farmers may apply for legal titles to customarily held land, however, due to the bureaucratic process of doing this, and the costs involved, few farmers ever apply (Guinand, 1995). Land is traditionally passed from father to son, or through the patrilineage (Kemerwa, 1994; Purseglove, 1946). Women have the legal right to own land as the only titleholder. According to Place (1993) women do not usually receive land through inheritance, and women's rights to land are derived almost exclusively through the rights and entitlements of their husbands'. Widows and their children are entitled to remain living on and cultivating the land alotted to them by their husbands. The Intestate Succession Law states that 25% of land be given to the widow, while 75% passes to the couple's children. Legally, the family are protected in their claim to the land following an intestate death (Place, 1993). There are data about the land ownership status of the members of some of the Two Wings agroforestry groups. In the sample interviewed by Guinand (1995), 15% of the women own some or all of the land they cultivate. The husband or another family member own the land in 75% of households. Of this sample, 22% are de jure female headed households, 24% are de facto female headed households, while the remaining 47% are male headed households. Eighty six percent of the women cultivate customarily owned land, and only four percent is leaseheld. Data of this sort are not available for the female population of Kabale District as a whole, nor could any written material be located about tree tenure systems.

Women in Agriculture and Forestry in Developing Southern Nations

The literature about women's involvement in various farming activities is incomplete and occasionally contradictory. However, it can still be said with confidence

that women play a large role both directly and indirectly in farming systems in developing countries (Feldstein, et. al., 1989). Fortmann and Rocheleau (1985) report that women comprise 17.5% (Central and South America) and 46.2% (Sub-Saharan Africa) of the agricultural labour force. In Latin American countries, census data reports between three and eleven percent participation of women in the agricultural labour force. However, according to Davidson (1993) the bulk of the world's food supply is produced by women. The collection and transport of fuel wood for heat and cooking is solely and universally women's work (Bryceson & Howe, 1993), as is the collection of fibres for handicrafts, cloth weaving and dye stuffs. Women use forests and agroforestry plots to obtain food, fodder, medicinal plants and herbs, and materials for religious purposes. Studies also show that women's uses differ from those of men. Getting water for irrigation, human and animal uses is also typically the women's responsibility. While men are involved in the commercial benefits of agriculture and forestry, the indirect and non-commercial benefits are often utilized primarily by women (Fortmann and Rocheleau, 1985). This fact may explain the low statistical numbers reported in census data; however, other explanations such as changing work roles and social definitions of what comprises agricultural work may also contribute.

In a study on women's roles in agriculture in Peru, Deere (1987) found that while Peruvian census data matched that of other Latin American countries, the actual workload of Peruvian farm women indicates much higher rates of involvement. Deere attributes these differences primarily to changing census definitions and faulty conceptual categories for measuring women's work.

Deere also found that women's agricultural participation directly depended upon class and the class position of the household within the process of social differentiation. In Peru, poorer peasant women participated in familial agricultural activities more frequently than wealthier women. The tendency for poor women to participate in agricultural activities is linked to rural poverty and the social importance of agriculture. As peasants lose access to land and agriculture becomes less important, agriculture becomes less of a male activity. As men depend more heavily on off-farm employment to generate income, the responsibility of subsistence agriculture shifts to the family, particularly the woman. In areas of Africa where male migration is high, women have also taken on previously male oriented employment in agroforestry projects (Fortmann and Rocheleau, 1985). Thus, it is reasonable to assume that women have potential for significant influence over areas of resource conservation, as they are the people most directly affected by having to go farther to find water, fuel, food and fodder.

In Uganda, women do most of the agricultural work, including planting, digging, weeding and harvesting. Women are responsible for finding firewood, fetching water, preparing the meals, and caring for the children. Tree planting, once the domain of men, has also begun to be done by women (Kemerwa, et. al., 1994; Peden, 1992). Several studies indicate that the average Ugandan woman spends 15-18 hours per day working to meet the needs of her family (Nalwanga-Sebina and Natukunda, 1988; Costigan et. al., 1990).

Women's Indigenous Knowledge

Ecofeminism has produced ideas about the role of women in environmental

conservation and the relationship between women and nature that may be useful to agroforestry research in developing countries. Through the process of deconstructing existing knowledge and recognizing alternative sources of information, ecofeminism has created new perspectives on women's knowledge and new approaches to understanding women's lived realities. Feminine epistemology is not only knowledge. It is a way of knowing, of organizing the knowledge system, of teaching and communicating this knowledge. It is a function not only of knowing, but language structure, use and understanding (Cashman, 1991). *Techne* (embodied, concrete knowledge) and *episteme* (disembodied, abstract knowledge) represent only two possible means of knowing (Apffel-Marglin, 1992). "I am convinced that there are ways of thinking that we don't know about. I take those words to mean that many women are even now thinking in ways which traditional intellection denies, decries, or is unable to grasp" (Cashman, 1991; 56). While many forms of ecofeminism are acknowledged to exist, only those ideas focusing on diversity, connectedness and alternative forms of knowledge about the environment will be presented and utilized. These forms were chosen as they are compatible with a human ecological framework, are directly relevant to the research question, and may assist in identifying unique knowledge and practices that may otherwise be overlooked.

Through ecofeminist analysis of women's roles, the existence of an essential link between women, their work, the social reproduction of rural households and the long term viability of the resource base upon which household production depends has been recognized (Dankelman and Davidson, 1988; Sontheimer, 1991). According to Sachs (1992), women's indigenous knowledge and their grassroots participation work to ensure

the survival of families and villages.

In many places, women have promoted biodiversity and health through indigenous seed selection and forest conservation practices (Sachs, 1992). In other locales, women contribute to the degradation of biosystems through activities oriented towards attaining the resources needed to provide for a family (Collins, 1987). These resources, such as fuelwood and water, are no longer readily available due to changes in economic structures and land use. Ecofeminists have defined sustainablility as "...the success of processes of social reproduction. It refers, in other words, to how people living in a particular locale manage resources both in order to maintain themselves on a daily basis and to ensure that they have what they need as they move from one annual cycle to the next and from one generation to another" (Collins, 1991; 33).

Women's indigenous or traditional knowledge is pivotal in developing an ecofeminist approach. The world view of many groups of indigenous African women includes the belief that humans exist in conjunction with nature, not opposed to or above it (Cashman, 1991). Since the self is a continuous part of the environmental network, it is human nature to work with the environment, rather than conquering it. Likewise, an exploration of tenure knowledge can contribute to this body of understanding, as the notion of property itself may respresent a link between the material and the ideological aspects of life (Hirschon, 1984).

No literature addressing women's knowledge or worldview in Uganda could be located; however, is has been recorded that property has been traditionally owned by men. Women can legally own property, but their notions of what it means to own property have

not been explored.

Female Headed Households: Resource Use and Management

Research into the human dimension of farming systems has lead to an interest in household structure and function. Most census questions and survey research treat the household and the family as separate units, with family loosely defined as a social structure composed of people bound together through ties of kinship, marriage and parenthood. The household is considered to be a residential unit with concretely defined boundaries. Household members are those co-residing together for purposes of production, reproduction, socialization and consumption (Moser, 1993). These assumptions have lead to the stereotype that the household is the fundamental socio-economic unit, comprised of the family living and working together (Moser, 1993).

Although families and households may overlap in some societies, particularly those that are Western and urban, in others they do not. Wide variations in marriage and kinship systems influence residential and conjugal arrangements. These vary both spatially and temporally. Internal factors relating to the nature of the marital contract, patterns of inheritance and the different stages of expansion, consolidation and contraction in the family life cycle influence them. In addition, a diversity of external socio-economic and political factors are also important (Moser, 1993; 19).

There are several working models of households in the literature. Martin and Beittel (1987) define the household as the primary unit responsible for reproducing the labour force. The continuity of the labour force is ensured within the household through the function of the household to organize the consumption of collective resources. This

unit may be related to family composition, kinship structures or co-resident dwelling groups, however it is different from these structures. Therefore, the household does not identify with them. This definition accounts for non-family household members and exchange relationships, but underestimates the familial content of socialization, nurturance, and security found in many households. As well, intra-household discrepancies in allocation of resources and decision making power are not apparent in this model. A comparison of male and female spending patterns show that men will spend a greater proportion of income on personal expenses, while women will direct the majority of income into family and household expenses (Chimedza, 1990). In most households where a male is present, the male exercises dominant control over household income, regardless of which household member earns the most (World Health Organization, 1990). Research by Rogers (1993) shows that household structure, function and income levels are directly influenced by land tenure patterns. In turn, consumption patterns are directly affected by income. Martin and Beittel do suggest, however, that one criteria to be used to distinguish household types is by collection of data of how households pool income in order to reproduce themselves.

Engberg, et. al., (1994) propose an ecosystem model of the household in consideration with market and non-market production. The "whole" economy is considered as interacting with the household to produce gender relations. Since household composition changes over the course of the family life cycle and yearly labour seasons and individual households, Engberg et. al. call for site and time specific data collection. This model is focused on economic activities thereby ignoring the other, often more important

social functions of households. Also lacking in Engberg et. al.'s model is an account of the socio-historical factors in the formation of household structure and dynamics.

Feldstein (1986) offers a useful view of the household as a system in which resources are allocated between individuals. Goals, benefits and resources may be equally or inequally shared by individuals. Alternately, some goals, benefits, and resources are independent to members, or cause conflict. Following this model, it is the task of the researcher to uncover specific goals, resources, and benefits of the household, how they are shared, how they differ individually and who has control of what.

A history of household formation in southern Africa has been reported by Martin and Beittel (1987; 221-22):

> [F]irst, the structural integument of the pre-colonial community failed to survive...Second, new relationships to the broader political economy were constructed...This happened not simply through the addition of a new layer of colonial authority, but through the remoulding by these new local powers of pre-existing chieftaincies and the creation in many instances of new chiefs.
>
> At the heart of all these processes was the fitful emergence of a smaller social group-a smaller set of social relationships which we call the household. As an organizing node of these new colonial relationships, the household became responsible for producing the labour force...Household formation in the midst of these broad-scale processes of the incorporation of pre-capitalist people was hardly homogenous or linear. Certainly, different pre-colonial social and political structures, and different patterns of resistance, played a great role in shaping the

divergent outcomes across the region.

Following from the hypothesis that historical influences have produced new forms of culturally determined household structures with different goals in mind, Clay and Magnani (1987) conclude that the variations in farming systems found in small, relatively homogenous countries are largely the result of variations in the human ecology of the region caused by numerous potential factors. Data based studies show that the agroforestry activities of female headed households will vary within a village (see Watson, 1994). Likewise, Moser (1993) states that there is considerable variety in the economic status of female headed households based upon the marital status of the woman, the social context of female headship, access to land and resources, and the composition of the household. Women with access to the income of a migrant worker may be in a better situation than a woman with a husband at home. Unmarried mothers, widows and divorced women all may be subject to varying social sanctions or resource restrictions. Women and men do not relate to the household economy in the same way, nor can households be conceptually separated from the extended family (Engberg, et. al., 1994). Absent members of the immediate family do not necessarily exist related to but distinctly outside of the household boundaries. Resource flow and exchanges between family members occur that impact heavily upon the household, particularly in cases of migrant husband and child workers, or widows dependent on their husband's family.

In Kabale District, there are increasing numbers of female headed households. Thirty three percent of all rural households are headed by women. Eighty four percent of all female headed households in the district are dependent upon subsistence farming as the

main source of livilhood (Uganda Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 1992). The absence of adult men has had an impact on the amount of labour available and also on the capacity of the household to conduct non agricultural activities. According to Olson (1995), particular male responsibilities, such as purchasing of land, defending land boundaries, and home and fence construction are not easily performed by women. As well, female headed households in Kabale are the poorest in terms of agricultural production, amount of land and animals, and income earned (Olson, 1995)

As is shown by the extant research and literature, women's agroforestry behaviour is influenced by a variety of factors. Women are important participants in agroforestry farming, both on a subsistence and a commercial scale. Likewise, the welfare of the household is largely dependent upon the work of women. However, access to and control over resources do not always reflect these realities. In rural Kabale, many female headed households must cope with the responsibilities of producing food, clothing and educating the children, and generating income. How women are doing this, and what issues they face that may impact on how they achieve their goals, is not currently well understood. It is with these issues in mind that this study was designed.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

The purpose of this study was to examine the social factors affecting women's agroforestry resource production and use in Kabale, Uganda. These factors were identified through a two phase study. The methodology underlying these processes was qualitative grounded theory. In the first phase, a series of individual discussions were held with women farmers and other community members to identify relevant issues. During the second half of the study, detailed life histories and stories were collected from five local village women. A number of data collection methods were used in this approach in order to produce a holistic profile of individuals and households in the study area, including non-participant observation, open ended and focused interviewing, farm walks and life history interviews. Content analysis of available documents and a review of the secondary data were also valuable sources of information. The study was conducted over a period of six months, from August 1995 to February 1996.

Methodology : Qualitative Grounded Theory

Qualitative research is defined as research findings arrived at through means not employing statistics or other types of quantification (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). While the data may be quantified, the analysis is not. The ultimate goal of this approach is to discover the social world as it exists in reality (Layder, 1993). This can best be achieved by first hand observations and participation in natural settings. One approach to qualitative methodology, and the one employed in this thesis, was grounded theory.

Grounded theory is an inductive approach to knowledge construction developed

by sociologists B. Glaser and A. Strauss (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) in which the theory emerges from the data. Unlike positivistic theory testing endeavours that start with a theory and collect data with the intention of supporting or disproving it, the grounded theory study begins with a topic, a problem or an area of interest. The theory emerges throughout the study as an interactive process of data collection and analysis. Two kinds of theory, substantive and formal, are distinguished. Substantive theory applies to a specific area of interest, such as women in development, mental health issues and so on. Formal theory is broader in scope and relates to a formal area of sociological inquiry, including age, gender, socialization, etc. The interest of this study was to develop strong substantive theory which explores and identifies the issues impacting on women's agroforestry resource production and use.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) list four criteria for a well grounded theory: **fit** of the theory to the research area, **understanding** of the theory by both the research subjects and the researchers, **generality** of the theory to other, similar phenomenon or people, and suggestions for **control** in regards to actions towards the phenomena studied, especially in terms of change facilitation or social activism. Producing good substantive or formal theory requires not only scientific rigour and control, but an element of creativity in exploring and collecting unusual data. This element of creativity gives grounded theory its appeal; it is not constrained by limiting the process to only using established methods of data collection.

Methods

As stated, a number of qualitative techniques were utilized to collect the desired

information.

Interviews with local women farmers, village members, and Resistance Council members were conducted to generate information on local tenure systems, household resource use and management, acquisition and control of property and income, agricultural and forestry related activities of the women and their household members, and the responsibilities and priorities of the women farmers. A general outline of issues and questions was used during the interviews, however, it was frequently modified in order to suit the flow of any particular discussion. The interview schedule outline can be found in Appendix A. The interviews were conducted in *Rukiga*, through the use of an interpreter. Simultaneous translation was done during the interview, and detailed field notes were taken by the researcher. The interviews were also tape recorded, and the tapes were later transcribed and translated into English. The transcriptions were compared to the field notes to ensure compatibility and consistency of the information.

Accessible law courts documents from the Kabale High Courts office pertaining to women's land and tree tenure were reviewed and content analyzed to identify actual rights of women farmers and the legal criteria used to pass a judgement on land and tree ownership. In particular, land dispute cases involving women were reviewed and the criteria used to come to a decision in the cases were used to identify formal tenure systems and legal attitudes towards women.

Interview and court documents material was supplemented with secondary data from locally available documents and literature.

Life history "stories" were collected from five women from Butobere village. Over

the course of several visits, the women were asked to talk about the major events in their lives, and tell stories about themselves or their community related to land, farming, trees, and family. The same techniques were used to record the life stories as were used to record the interviews.

With both the interview participants and the life history women, some rapid rural appraisal (RRA) methods were employed to facilitate the collection of holistic data. Non-participant observation and farm walks were useful in gathering information about daily life that women may not have thought relevant enough to mention in an interview. Farm walks, in particular, were a useful tool for inducing the women to talk freely about themselves and their property. Often, seeing a particular field would jog a memory of an incident that may have otherwise been forgotten.

Resource mapping, a technique in which participants are asked to "map" out certain aspects of their lives, or important areas of their village, was attempted with some of the women from two separate villages. Usually, resource mapping is done using paper and pencil, stick and dirt, or whatever is available and appropriate. A group of research participants are asked to produce a map, independent of any input from the researcher. In this case, the technique was adapted to suit the individual interview situation, and women were asked to draw out their household, village, fields, places of importance to them, and where they may spend alot of time. Paper and coloured pens were provided for the exercise. Of the 10 women asked to try this, not one was willing to draw the map on her own. In both villages, the interpreter had to draw the map according to the woman's instructions, and usually the interpreter directed the woman as to what she should include.

In one case, the participant's husband directed the drawing of the map. The researcher uncertain why this technique was unsuccessful with all participants, as some of the participants are quite well educated and comfortable with paper and pen. Others are illiterate. As well, neither interpreter was given instructions to assist in drawing the maps, and no amount of training of the interpreters to explain the exercise to participants in various ways seemed to have any effect on the situation. The resulting maps drawn by each interpreter look remarkably alike. While the process itself was educational, the results from this experiment are not considered useful, and are therefore not used in the analysis of the study.

Local village women were hired to act as interpreters during the interview process. Residence in the village study site was one requirement of the interpreter, as it was considered necessary to hire a local woman in order to facilitate accessing women respondents in a timely manner. While living in a particular area does not necessarily give one any "special" insight into the social character of the entire community, having a familiarity of the local culture, social practices, and residents did make locating willing respondents an easier task. As well, it was the opinion of the interpreters and village women that the village women felt more comfortable and willing to talk to a woman they already knew, rather than a stranger from another village. Other qualifications required by the interpreters was having adequate literacy in both English and *Rukiga*, and possessing a basic understanding of local farming practices. Both interpreters hired fit these qualifications.

Validity and Reliability of Qualitative Data

Validity and reliability take on different, but equally important characteristics in qualitative research as compared to quantitative inquiry. The perspective held by the researcher is that "the social world is an interpreted world, not a literal world" (Altheide and Johnson, 1994; 486), and *how* knowledge is gathered and interpreted influences the content of that knowledge. This includes issues of researcher bias in the collection and analysis of information. Qualitative data that are considered both valid and reliable are an accurate reflection/description of the realistic social situation or characteristic that they claim to describe or explain (Hammersley, 1992). In the analysis of this study, the interpretation of the respondents - the *Bakiga* women of Kabale - was sought and presented.

Determining the validity of the data collected for this study was done primarily through verification of the interview material (Spradley, 1979). Interview material was verified by conducting multiple interviews with informants, asking similar questions in several different ways and comparing the responses, and researcher observation of tasks the women reported on. Purposive selection of informants by the researcher, particularly for the life history segment of the study also helped to ensure validity of the data collected.

Reliability was established in part by the researcher learning as much as possible about the context of the study and consistently reflecting on the situation and personal biases and assumptions held by the researcher (Lincoln and Guba, 1986). The researcher also periodically approached other researchers in the area and local Ugandans to comment on the data. Another method used to ensure reliability was by providing a detailed

description of the study participants for comparative purposes with other similar studies, and by comparing the data set to secondary sources gathered in the field.

Research Sample

Study Sites

The interviews were conducted in the villages of Kicumbi and Butobere. Both villages are located within 10 kilometres of Kabale town, in the county of Kabale. The villages were chosen based on their accessibility to the researcher, the prevalence of subsistence level women farmers, and the potential for the researcher to access these women farmers on a regular basis. The work began in Kicumbi, but was discontinued early in the study. Therefore, only the data from single visit interviews with elder women from Kicumbi was used as historical context in the analysis. These interviews focused on historical changes in the nature of farming, land acquisition, and issues affecting village women. The case studies and interviews used for the thematic analysis were collected in Butobere. There were two reasons for discontinuing the work in Kicumbi. 1.First, there is a large Two Wings agroforestry group operating in Kicumbi. This group has had alot of interaction with the ICRAF/AFRENA project in the past, and therefore have specialized knowledge of agroforestry exceeding that of 'average' women. 2. Second, the interpreter selected from the village was not satisfactory. She was a member of the Two Wings group, and repeatedly selected study participants on the basis of her own interests.

The 1991 population of Butobere parish was estimated at 1, 726. Of this, 875 (52%) were female. Data on specific age cohorts for the village were not available; however, statistics for the municipality county, of which Butobere is part, state that 30%

of the female population were between zero and nine years of age. Twenty five percent of the female population were between the ages of 10 and 19, while another 32% were 20 to 39 years of age. Only 3.2% of the women in Butobere were over 65. Data on marital status specific to Butobere was not available, however, for the entire district of Kabale, 72% of women 20 years of age and older were married, 12% were widowed, 11% had never married and four percent were divorced or separated.

Study Participants

The study participants consisted of 32 women in total; twenty interviewees for the thematic analysis portion of the study, five women from whom detailed life histories were collected, and seven elders that were interviewed one time each about historical changes in the nature of farming, land acquisition, and issues affecting village women. None of the study participants were members of Two Wings groups during or prior to the study period. Single interviews were also conducted with the Women's Representative of the Butobere Resistance Council (RCWR) and the director of the Uganda Women's Tree Planting Movement. The material from these interviews was included in the thematic analysis.

The 20 interview participants were chosen through initial referrals from the Butobere RCWR, members of the Butobere Women's Development group, snowball sampling, and random visits to farms. The RCWR was originally asked to identify 'typical' village farmer women engaged in subsistence level farming. The five life history participants were selected from the women interviewed during the first part of the study. The criteria used to select these women included: 1. subsistence level farmer from one of

the three lowest socio-economic categories (described below); 2. considered to be representative of a 'typical' village farmer, and; 3. willingness on the part of the woman to participate. The elder women were chosen randomly, by simply visiting farms to see who was home and willing to talk that day.

In order to determine the representativeness of the sample (n=20), and for the purposes of subsequent analysis, the women respondents were classified into wealth categories using the information gathered during the interview process. The wealth categories used were those identified by women members of Two Wing agroforestry groups in other villages in the district. These categories are described by Guinand (1995), and a detailed description of each category can be found in Appendix B. Five categories, identified by Kabale women, were utilized in this study. The categories are: 1. "these people are nowhere-they have nothing"; 2. "people who don't have soap"; 3. "the ones in the middle"; 4. "the ones who have - the rich", and; 5. the richest".

Twenty women from Butobere were interviewed during the first phase of the study. The breakdown of the number of women in each socio-economic category, together with their marital status is presented in Table 1 below.

The five life history participants are described below (see Table 2) in terms of their marital and socio-economic status. An effort was made to include participants who were as representative of the village as possible. According to available data, the majority (> 50%) of households fit into categories one, two and three. No exact figure was available during the study period. This estimate was arrived at by juxta positioning the census data for household size, education and occupational levels on to the categories

Table 1. Marital and Socio-economic Status of Butobere Women Interview Respondents (N=20).

martial status	1. "They have nothing"	2. "People without soap"	3. "The middle ones"	4. "The haves"	5. "The richest"
male headed household	2	6	3	1	1
defacto female headed household	0	0	0	0	0
de jure FHH -never married	0	0	1	0	0
de jure FHH -divorced/ abandoned	1	0	0	0	0
de jure FHH - widowed	1	3	1	0	0
total	4	9	5	1	1

Table 2. Socio-economic Characteristics of Life History Participants (N=5).

	1. Stella	2. Perpetwa	3. Mary	4. Mauda	5. Lois
marital status and household headship status	male headed household first of 2 wives	de jure FHH widow	de jure FHH widow second of 2 wives	de jure FHH abandoned	de jure FHH widow
socio-economic status	2. "People who don't have"	2. "People who don't have"	2. "People who don't have"	2. "People who don't have"	2. "People who don't have"
age	30	38	70	47	+65[1]

[1] 65+ is an estimate. Lois cannot remember her exact age. Based on her interview replies, she is likely in her 70's.

outlined by the village women. Gaining access to respondents of categories three, four and five was the easiest, while accessing women from category one was very difficult. This was because people within category one were usually socially marginalized. They were considered "lazy" and "undesirable"; therefore, they were not found in the usual public places, nor were they well known to other community members. In order to create a picture of Butobere women as representative as possible, women from categories three, four and five were included in the interviews for the thematic analysis but they were intentionally excluded as life history participants.

Limitations

There were several limitations to achieving the 'ideal' fieldwork conditions. First and foremost was the language barrier between the researcher and the respondents. This problem was managed by hiring interpreters and tape recording conversations.

Some concern was expressed by ICRAF staff about the appropriateness of the villages chosen because of the close proximity of both Kicumbi and Butobere to the town of Kabale. While a remote rural village may have provided women with different sets of circumstances, transportation to the area and accessing the women on a repeated basis would have been problematic and difficult in the time available. As well, several visits were made by the researcher to villages in various parts of the District during the initial few weeks in the field. Based on these visits and the opinions gathered from other researchers and development workers in the area, the researcher decided that the differences in the economic base between an isolated agricultural village and a village located closer to town and to paid employment and trading opportunities was not deemed

to have a significant enough impact on the sociological realities of women farmers to warrant choosing other villages.

Ethical Considerations and Community Compensation

Doing fieldwork in the social sciences is largely an extractive process in which informants must be treated ethically and the knowledge of informants must be acknowledged and respected. Likewise, a genuine attempt should be made to provide some tangible benefit to the community from the research.

All respondents were informed that participation in the study was completely voluntary and participation may be withdrawn at any time, at the participants' discretion. While a consent form was originally designed at the outset of the study, it was abandoned on advice from ICRAF scientists that it was not necessary, and may intimidate some respondents.

Out of respect for respondent anonymity and privacy, only first names were used in the life history case studies. No individuals were associated with the thematic analysis done on the interview material.

Tangible compensation was made directly to the women for their participation. After discussion with interpreters and local ICRAF/AFRENA personnel, the decision was made to pay the women for their participation. This decision was made by the researcher for several reasons: 1. it was implied to the researcher by interpreters and ICRAF/AFRENA staff that the researcher would not gain access to women participants unless agreeing to pay them; 2. the interviews and farm visits required the women to lose time usually spent working, and; 3. Kabale district is becoming a popular place to do

research, particularly with rural farmers. Many farmers have expressed resentment at researchers who come to visit, take up their time and knowledge, and then leave. The view of some of these farmers is that the researcher is the primary benefactor of the research, while the farmer and the community receive little benefit or compensation. In some cases, farmers would falsify or withhold information from researchers because of this perception (Taturyatemba, 1995). The payment was set at 1,000 Ugandan Shillings per participant. This rate is about the equivalent of 1 US dollar, and the average daily wage of a low skilled agricultural worker.

CHAPTER IV

EMERGENT THEMES RELATED TO AGROFORESTRY PRODUCTION

> The working day begins before dawn for the women who inhabit the mountains in the Kabale District of southwest Uganda. It starts with a steep climb, up to 6 km, as the women head off to help on a friend's field. If they finish early, they move to another field. Then they disperse, to search for firewood on the marginal lands along the roads and paths. At dusk, they return to their homes, just in time to fetch water and cook for the family. What's left from that meal will be eaten by the family at breakfast and lunch the next day. Some women return at dusk to find their husbands are drunk, demanding food and attention from their wives. The children are malnourished, lacking clean water and schooling. It is up to the women to find solutions to their problems - to provide food, water, medicine, clothing, school fees. This task is not easy, but the women believe that the solutions may start with agroforestry.
>
> - Kemerwa, et al., 1994; 15.

This excerpt refers to the women involved in the Two Wings agroforestry groups. As mentioned in chapter I, many of these groups have been quite successful in developing their own tree nurseries, gaining new skills, and generating new sources of income for themselves and their community. But what of the vast majority of women who are not participating in a Two Wings group? Their problems may be the same, and so may their solution - agroforestry.

However, the notable absence of trees on the hill slopes of Kabale indicate that not all women are working towards solutions in the same manner. The 20 interview respondents who contributed information to this portion of the study were not, nor had they ever been, members of a Two Wings agroforestry group. Of the study sample, 13 women (65%) were members of male headed households, while seven women (35%)

headed up their own households[1]. All socio-economic categories of women were represented in the interview material (see Appendix 1B for category descriptions), however, the majority of respondents (90%) were from categories one, two or three.

Six distinct themes emerged from the interview data. Many of these themes have been alluded to in the introduction above. The themes, which include land and tree tenure, population pressure, land availability, household demands and women's resources, alcoholism and family violence, AIDS related illness and death, and female community solidarity, were derived from content analysis of transcribed interview material. Secondary data, identified during the course of the study, was used to supplement the thematic analysis. The contemporary and historical manifestations of the themes are described according to the findings of this study and related literature. Interview quotes from women respondents are presented at the beginning of the discussion on each of the themes. To conclude this chapter, the themes and their implications for agroforestry behaviour are summarized in terms of how the themes have an impact upon the decision making processes of women farmers faced with varying situations.

Land and Tree Tenure

Land Tenure

"*In Bakiga culture, the man is supposed to take away everything you owned together when you divorce, but that was long ago. It is different these days.*"

"*It is not possible for me to lose control of my land because when my husband died, he*

---

1 This sample is close to the estimated number of male versus female headed households in the District. According to the 1991 census, 33% of households in Kabale District are female headed.

left everything in my hands."

"*I get worried because they* [in-laws] *consider me as a woman and the land was given to my brother. So they think they have a share on this land...I would report it to the elders and the big people to stop it.*"

"*Some men are cheaters. They take away the land from their wives. Here the woman has to report to police.*"[2]

"*The giving of land to girls in the present generation has changed because girls also contribute to the well-being of the family.*"

"*Even if it* [land] *is small, it has to be divided into equal parts among the sons...Elder girls are also given some land when you feel your daughter really deserves your share.*"

In the past, it was not customary to give land to female Bakiga children. Rather, fields were given to male children under the assumption that the land would be divided up among his wives to cultivate for the benefit of themselves and their children (Nzita and Niwampa, 1995). However, like the larger culture that surrounds them, systems of customary land ownership and inheritance among the Bakiga are not static and rigid. These systems are adapted and evolve to meet the needs of the people. As well, actual behaviours regarding land practices are a *reflection* of traditional customs, not a strict conformation to the rules. In particular, "[i]n situations of rapid change there may be considerable discrepancy between what is happening in actual transactions and the norms as expressed by elders or other informants" (Brock, 1969; 3). It is important to keep this point in mind, as there are some discrepancies between what Bakiga people claim are the

---

2

A related point to be made here is that there is a monetary cost associated with having an allegation looked into by police. The standard "fee" is about 5,000 USh (about 5 US dollars), however, the more money one has, the faster an allegation will be pursued. This is a problem for cash poor women.

land inheritance practices, and what village farm women tell as their stories about how they received the land they cultivate, and who makes the use decisions over that land.

Land tenure in Kabale is predominantly customary[3], with only 2.4% being titled holdings (Kabale Department of Lands and Surveys, n/d). Lands are still frequently passed from father to son, and priority claim to a parcel of land is held by the male children of the owner[4]. When the child receives his share of land depends upon the decisions and resources of the parents. The most common pattern is to give the son a piece of land upon marriage. The parents retain enough land to be able to feed themselves. The remaining land will pass to the son after the death of the parents. Often, an aging widowed mother will give all her land to her adult children, and the children are then expected to provide food for her.

Girl children are given land when both parents have died and there are no sons available to take it. This applies in cases where a son exists, but does not live in the area, and has no intentions of coming home to resume cultivation of the land. Rather than leave the land in disuse (which may make it vulnerable to a take over attempt by another farmer), it will be given to the daughter. Married daughters can inherit land from their parents, but it is assumed that she will have access to land through her husband.

---

[3] Customary land ownership is dependent upon the owner's ability to demonstrate use of the land over a period of time (Kigula, 1993). Community members usually know, through historical use, who owns which parcels of land.

[4] In cases of polygamous marriages, the son only has claim to lands owned by this father *and* cultivated by his mother. Land cultivated by other wives is entrusted to the children she has from the marriage.

Therefore, single and widowed, divorced or abandoned daughters inherit land more frequently than married daughters. It is also not uncommon for a divorced, widowed or abandoned woman to 'borrow' a piece of land to cultivate from her mother or brothers if they have enough to spare. In cases of married women inheriting land, the land remains her legal property and cannot be taken by the husband or his family.

There are no legal barriers to land ownership by women (Place, 1994). Women have the right to purchase and inherit land and property, and these rights are protected under law. Chapter 4, Article 26.1 of the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda states that "every person has a right to own property either individually or in association". Articles 21.1 and 21.2 state that all people are equal before the law, and that no-one will be discriminated against on the basis of sex, religion, race, ethnicity, tribe, birth, creed, social or economic standing, political opinion or disability. "Women shall be accorded full and equal dignity of the person with men" (Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 1995; 30).

As noted in chapter II, the Intestate Succession Law protects a widow's claim to her deceased husband's land, and Article 31 of the Constitution states that "Parliament shall make appropriate laws for the protection of the rights of widows and widowers to inherit the property of their deceased spouses..." (NAWOU, 1995; 33). However, having rights does not necessarily mean that one can or will exercise those rights, as Kigula (1993) notes that legal disputes involving women are common in Kabale District. The subject of land disputes is discussed in greater detail at the end of this section.

According to Mukoza-Kifuse (1991) (cited in Barton and Wamai, 1994), only 7%

of Ugandan women own land. It is not known what criteria were used to define ownership in this particular study. Such an estimate may be accurate of formal ownership[5], but it is misleading in terms of control that women have over land. Given the expectations of use accorded marriage and the legal protection given to widows and wives, one does not need to own land to have some control over it. As one respondent stated, "*I own the land through my children. They are my protection and claim to property*" (Anonymous, 1995). Many other women respondents reported being the person responsible for making use decisions regarding their agricultural land.

Polygamy is declining in southwest Uganda, and polygamous marriages are not considered legal[6]. In cases of polygamous marriages, upon arrival of a new wife, the husband is responsible to find new land for her to cultivate. He cannot take land already being worked by his previous wife and assign it to the new wife. Men have attempted to do this in the recent past, and law courts documents show that neither the women nor the courts will tolerate it.

Many women in Butobere are aware of their legal rights both as a wife and as a sole property owner, and will not hesitate to take the matter to the community elders or

---

5

It bears repeating here that formal land ownership in Uganda is not a common form of ownership for men or women.

6

According to law courts documents reviewed during the course of this study, the church definition of marriage, as per English law, is used to define legal versus illegal marriage in Uganda. Therefore, polygamous marriages are not recognized as legal unions for purposes of property ownership and benefits.

the Resistance Council (RC)[7]. In densely populated areas, such as Kabale District, land disputes are a common occurrence. Place (1994) reports that the most common reason for disputes is land boundaries, while Kigula (1993) claims that intra-familial disagreements over succession rights and division of plots are the most frequent types of cases. Interviews with RC members and a review of the courts documents[8] supports Kigula's findings. Staff members of the Kabale High Courts office estimate that at least 40% of land disputes in the district involve women[9]. It is not unusual for a woman to sue her husband for attempting to sell or give her land to another person. Widows challenging

---

7

This is not to say that *all* women will pursue the matter. In cases where the woman is widowed or abandoned and she is living in a district that is not her natal district, the intimidation she may feel from her in-laws and the other villagers for being an outsider often motivates her to abandon the land and return home. Also, some women believe that the land is not worth the emotional exhaustion and social trauma that a fight for it can cause, so she willingly backs away from land conflicts. Finally, RC members must be paid for their services. If the community elders are not able to solve the conflict, and she cannot raise the money, she will not receive any assistance with her problem. While no quantitative data is available to determine how often women will or will not pursue a claim, it is the opinion of the researcher that the majority of women will exercise their rights, at least to the level of the community elders and RC.

8

These cases were taken from the High Courts office. There is a hierarchy of legal levels in Uganda. A complaint starts at the village RC I court. If it cannot be resolved, it goes to the parish RC II court, then the sub-county RC III court. The next highest level is the Chief Magistrates Court. The High Courts and Supreme Court are the top levels. Land disputes rarely go up to the Supreme Court. However, according to Kigula (1993), the informal RC courts levels are not taken very seriously by people in Kabale. Therefore, a large number of cases end up in the Chief Magistrates Court and are appealed in the High Court.

9

Statistical estimates were not included in the studies reviewed on this topic. The Kabale High Courts office do not keep separate records on the numbers and types of specific land dispute cases. Therefore, calculating statistics on the percentages of cases involving women and the types of disputes was not feasible during the field season for this project.

their mothers-in-law or brothers-in law for rights over the deceased husband's land was also a common type of dispute encountered in the court files.

Tree Tenure

" *A man was the one responsible for maintaining trees and taking care of them. This responsibility has now changed. Women can own trees and take care of them, when they are hard working or if they are widows.*"

"*There is no other place they can plant trees. But there are no reasons to stop her from planting trees.*"

"*Women can own land and trees because these days they are hard working, they do business and they are considered in land inheritance. Threats to women owning land and trees are not many, except those from their husbands and people who want equal division* [of the plots]. *These women spend a lot of money in police court trying to fight for their property. There are laws to protect women in their problems, such as owning property. An association called FIDA, which is the Uganda Association of Women Lawyers assist women in personal problems.*"

There is no recognized distinction between land tenure and tree tenure among the Bakiga. The frequent response to questions about tree ownership was that if one owns the land, then one owns everything that is growing on it, regardless of when or by whom it was planted.

According to Place (1994), there is no specific legislation in Uganda pertaining to tree tenure[10]. Trees, however, are viewed as an indication of land ownership and can be used to manipulate tenure. In numerous land dispute cases in Kabale District involving the

---

10

The only exception to this is the case of the Mvule tree (*Chlorophora excelsa*). The Mvule is a premium hardwood tree used for timber and high quality furniture. As such, it has been declared government property and a permit is required to harvest this tree regardless of where, when and by whom it was planted. None of the women interviewed in Kicumbi or Butobere mentioned this law in the interviews, indicating that they either are unaware of it, or the law does not immediately concern them.

ownership of a piece of land, the court officials physically went to examine the land in question. In those cases where the land had living trees, village members were questioned as to who planted the trees. The planter of the trees was taken as an indication of the owner of the land. Older trees growing on land were considered to be stronger indications of ownership than trees recently planted. Uprooting of seedlings planted by women in the Two Wings groups were reportedly uprooted by men for this reason[11] (Kemerwa et. al., 1994; Guinand, 1995; Peden, 1992; Place, 1994). This was not mentioned as a problem by respondents in Butobere. In other cases, trees planted on land that was in dispute were uprooted by a participant in the dispute in fear that the courts may side with the planter of the trees as being the owner of the land.

Respondents commonly stated that trees were a household resource, to be used by all household members. Only in cases of cutting a tree were women from male headed households required to receive their husband's permission. The most common uses reported by the women as uses of trees were timber, building poles, cash sale, and brooms[12]. None of the women respondents claimed fear of losing rights of access and use to trees they may plant as a reason for not planting trees.

11

An additional reason given by the women for the men's actions was that the men were simply jealous and could not stand to see the women (even if the women were their wives) become successful and gain more than they had.

12

Firewood was infrequently cited as an important use, unless it was firewood for commercial sale. The women usually used charcoal, corn and sorghum husks, and fallen branches for fuelwood.

Population Pressure and Land Availability

"I would like to plant some eucalyptus trees, but do not have enough land. I cannot plant trees on the fields. They are needed to grow food."

"People are so many now, they have to use all of the land they have. The children receive less land and land of poorer quality."

"If parents cannot add to their land for their children, then poverty will not be solved"

"In the past, problems were simpler to solve. If we needed more food, we would grow it. Now, less land and more children means we can't grow enough food anymore."

The population density of Kabale District has already been described in detail in Chapter I, therefore, only a brief review of the current situation will be given here. The total population is 417, 218 for an expanse of 1, 827 square kilometres. Thus, there are approximately 246.1 persons per square kilometre in Kabale District. What are more important than the statistics, however, are the *effects* of population pressure on agroforestry production of women farmers. Lack of land to plant trees on is repeatedly given as the main reason for farmers not planting trees. Obviously, population density is closely tied to the issue of not having enough land[13].

13

A related factor frequently mentioned in the literature for Kabale District, but not specifically dealt with in this thesis, is the plot fragmentation that results from Bakiga inheritance practices. In order to provide each child with some land, the plots are repeatedly divided and subdivided. "Fragmentation first acts to reduce an already small total farm size into tiny plots on which farmers are reluctant to grow trees for fear of ruining yields. Fragmentation also exacerbates the problems of off-season grazing, disputes, and damage from fire. Herders that would like to respect others' plots and graze on their own land nonetheless have to cross many others' plots in going between his [sic] own plots. Fragmentation also creates a large area of boundaries and coupled with tiny parcels, shading and root competition on neighbouring plots is a significant problem. Fragmentation also increases the likelihood of fire destruction on neighbouring plots as a result of burning one's own land. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, most do not have the desire to travel and work on the more distant plots" (Place, 1994; 54). There is some

Since agroforestry is an integrated approach to maximizing land use, it represents a potential solution to the problems faced by farmers in Kabale District. Why, then, are women farmers not introducing agroforestry practices within their overcultivated plots? This is largely an issue of perceptions, knowledge and priorities. Trees cannot be allowed to take up growing space on plots of land needed to grow food. Women view agroforestry trees as taking up space needed to grow crops, rather than as resources that share space with the crops and can potentially contribute to increasing the yield. The Bakiga women respondents were primarily concerned with providing for their children. Producing as much food as possible for consumption and sale represent avenues for feeding the children and generating income for school fees and clothing.

Alcoholism and Family Violence

"*He requests for* [sic] *food when he comes back home and if the wife fails, he beats her up. These problems are brought about by husbands drinking alcohol. They can't stop drinking. This is affecting a large number of families.*"

"*Young women today have husbands that are not understanding. They spend their time drinking, and then come home and beat their wives.*"

" *They need laws to also control women. Some women disturb their husbands and drink too much.*"

"*Women's laws should be put there so that they stop misbehaving. They* [women] *have started going into bars and spending the whole day drunk. So laws should be put there to protect both sides.*"

The brewing and consumption of alcohol is an accepted fact of life in Uganda, with roots in historical practice. Traditionally, births, marriages, naming ceremonies, burials,

---

evidence that this practice is diminishing, as about half of the interview respondents stated that since their land holdings were already small, they would give their land to only one or two children, typically the first born, and the others would have to fend for themselves.

and other public events included alcoholic drinks. Today, many women earn cash income through the brewing and sale of local sorghum beer and *waragi* (banana leaf gin) (Barton and Wamai, 1994). This practice was evident in Butobere during the field season of this study.

One elder respondent remembers drinking first becoming a problem during the colonial period of the 1940s through to the 1960s, when public drinking establishments first opened. During this time there was also an increase in paid employment opportunities and men gaining access to their own cash income. This was also a period when the district was experiencing the effects of population pressures, families were relocating to new districts, and agricultural yields were declining.

Alcoholism is related to family violence, erratic behaviours, and irrational expenditures. According to Barton and Wamai (1994), brewing, selling and over-consumption of alcohol is largely a consequence of poverty. According to the women participants of this study, alcoholism is perpetuating poverty and keeping families poor. A few small scale studies were done in Uganda during the 1970s and 1980s (see Barton and Wamai, 1994). The studies documented that male alcoholism is a significant influence on family disruption and dissolution, including domestic violence. Male alcohol abuse is also a contributing factor to the rise of female headed households in Uganda.

There is little known about family violence in contemporary Africa, except that it exists and is becoming an increasingly bigger problem[14]. The evidence that exists, most of

---

14

A search of the current literature (done in Socio-File) did not uncover any relevant studies addressing alcoholism and violence in rural Africa. Often, injuries caused by violence are

which is in the form of qualitative information, suggests that alcoholism and family violence are positively correlated with each other and have a significant effect on resource use and management. For example, in Burundi, men have been known to repeatedly beat their wives until the women can no longer tolerate it, and leave. According to local custom, since the woman *chose* to leave her husband, she subsequently has no claim to any of their common property, including land, and the husband is entitled to take another wife (Guinand and Hitimana, 1994). The issues of drunkenness and the behaviours related to drunkenness, especially violence and abandonment, were raised as often as the issue of land availability by respondents in the study.

Economically, alcoholism can be very expensive to a family, draining household resources that are needed for school fees, agricultural inputs, labour and food. As previously stated, many alcohol abusers have sold land to finance their activities. Crop cultivation may be affected as farmers may use their land to grow cassava, maize and millet for brewing, rather than crops for home consumption or sale (Barton and Wamai, 1994).

Alcoholism is not the strict domain of men. Alcoholism amongst women is on the rise in Uganda, and is often attributed to their involvement in the beer and spirits brewing industry, especially in urban areas (Barton and Wamai, 1994). In Butobere, respondents attributed the rise in female alcoholism to emotional trauma inflicted on women by the AIDS death rate within their families, general depression and having no land to cultivate.

As violence was not the focus of this study, little else can be said about the topic,

---

reported as "accidents" (Murray, 1996).

except that it is an area in desperate need of research. Domestic violence can be viewed as a constraint to development, including agroforestry development, since women in abusive situations will often become isolated from the larger community (McHugh, Frieze, and Browne, 1993). Women that are intimidated and controlled cannot act on their own behalf, nor are they free to bring new ideas home, participate in community events, make decisions and perform actions to further themselves and their family.

AIDS Related Illness and Death[15]

"*I wanted to start a business, but I had to take care of my daughter. She was sick. Now that she is dead, I can maybe save some money and start a business.*"

"*I used to have two other plots of land. I sold them when my daughter got sick.*"

"*I would only sell my lands if there was no-one to take them over - or if someone got sick and needed medicine.*"

Acquired immuno-deficiency syndrome (AIDS) was first recognized in Uganda in 1982. Since that time, the NRM government has taken a proactive stance on AIDS by establishing the National AIDS Control Programme (ACP) in 1986. This body was responsible for overseeing AIDS education, home care, counselling and monitoring of the epidemic. In 1992, the Uganda AIDS commission (UAC) was formed in order to approach AIDS from a multi-sectoral perspective. The UAC has the view that AIDS affects all sectors of society, and the areas of health, education, development, agriculture, and economics must become involved in order to control the spread of the virus.

15

The figures and discussion refer to cases of AIDS illness, not HIV infection. Due to the nature of the illness, the rates of HIV infection are considerably higher than that of AIDS cases.

Currently, Uganda has one of the highest reported AIDS rates in Africa, and it is the leading cause of death amongst adults (Barton and Wamai, 1994). Based on the number of reported cases, it is estimated that 2,314 of every 1,000,000 people has the disease[16], however, due to the behavioural complexities of AIDS transmission, the costs involved in diagnosis, and the difficulty in reaching people that may have it, this is a conservative estimate. The actual number of cases is likely 5-7 times greater (Barton and Wamai, 1994). 91.8% of cases have been adults, while the remaining 8.2% are children. Of the adult infected population, 80% are between the ages of 16 and 40. Fifty two point three percent of AIDS victims are women.

Young women are particularly vulnerable to contracting AIDS. Reports indicate that within the 15-19 age cohort, females are six times more likely to contract AIDS than are males (Barton and Wamai, 1994). Numerous reasons are given for the slightly higher overall infection rate of women. These include biological considerations, formal and informal polygamy, inheritance of widows, weak decision making power of women over their own bodies, poverty and prostitution, and unarticulated cultural sexual expectations placed on women such as the myth held by men that having sex with young women will protect one from contracting the virus (Barton and Wamai, 1994).

Women also tend to bear the brunt of responsibility for coping with effects of the disease (Barnett and Blaikie, 1992; Barton and Wamai, 1994). As the primary caregivers and providers for the family, women are expected to care for ill family members both by

---

16 As of June, 1993 (Barton and Wamai, 1994) .

the community and the afflicted relative.

In Kabale District, AIDS is a serious issue that is causing family disruption and contributing to poverty in rural areas. Middle aged and elder women are selling plots of land and sacrificing resources to buy medicines for their dying adult children. Orphaned children are at risk of becoming urban street children if there are no other relatives willing or able to care for them. Grandchildren are typically left with the grandmother (if she is willing) or a sister of the mother. Feeding these children often proves to be difficult, and schooling them becomes near impossible.

AIDS has serious implications for the demographic, social and economic viability of Uganda in the coming decades. In addition to the sharp decline in the productive population (16-40 year olds), an HIV-positive mother has a 30-40% chance of passing the virus onto her children. Most of these children die before the age of five. Of non-infected children of HIV-positive mothers, 18% will be orphaned in early childhood or die from diseases and health problems related to lack of care.

Rural farm children contribute much to the family in terms of their labour power. Barnett and Blaikie (1992) examined the impact of AIDS on farming systems in terms of the loss of labour capital for subsistence farms in Uganda. The study notes that farming systems that depend upon immediate family, as opposed to extended family, for farm labour are more vulnerable to dramatic effects of AIDS deaths on their production. Such nuclear family oriented farming systems are found in Kabale District. The researchers found it difficult to anticipate the impact of labour loss due to AIDS deaths because of the resourcefulness and flexibility of rural farmers. Farms affected with reduced labour supply

tended to compensate by increasing the working day, intercropping, staggering agricultural activities, labour sharing arrangements, switching to other economic activities, reducing consumption, and rural-urban migration. A switch to other economic activities and reduced household consumption were the compensations noted by respondents to be prevalent in Butobere. Also, it was noted in the study that innovations that may require additional labour to execute or maintain were avoided by farmers. The planting and maintaining of trees in agroforestry systems is one such innovation that may place additional labour demands upon a farm household.

The AIDS epidemic effects not only local subsistence production, but the national economy. As well, resources that could be channelled into other, needy sectors of the economy are being used for AIDS activities. Plots of land are sold to buy medicines for ill children and labour intensive crops are being replaced by less intensive (and often less nutritious) crops (Barnett and Blaikie, 1992). Women are forced to cut back the number of hours they spend on agricultural and income generating activities, including the planting and care of trees.

In social terms, the epidemic is slowly taking the lives of the productive, the skilled and the educated human resources who are needed to lead Uganda into the next century, as well as the young parents that are needed to raise their children.

Household Demands and Women's Resources

"*The money I earn is spent on food, clothes, house rent and soap.*"

"*Men hide the money they work for and let the woman do all that's needed in the home.*"

"*I have no husband. I am the one responsible for everything at home. I think this is true*

for most women who don't have husbands."

"*Most women are responsible to provide everything for their families. Men don't care how their children are looked after. Men don't know the value of children.*"

Preceding sections of this chapter have already profiled the household demands placed on Bakiga women. Thus, they do not bear repeating here. The lack of household resources, or lack of access to resources, were also influential factors in women's agroforestry behaviours. The household demands commonly cited by women as most important included providing enough staple foods for household consumption and generating sufficient cash income to pay school fees and purchase household items and clothing. The relationship between household demands and agroforestry is indirect, but important nonetheless.

The study data indicated that it was the household demands and level of resources available and accessible to a woman for her family that influenced how she set her priorities, how she spent her time, and what she did with her land.

The household system may have had additional resources, such as the wages earned by a husband or other family member; however, it is evident in the responses of many women that they were responsible to provide food and other items for household members in addition to their children. While these household members may have been employed, they were not obliged to contribute resources to the household.

Female Community Solidarity

"*The only solution to little land, less food, no money, and poverty will come from the women working together in the women's groups and deciding for themselves how to manage their lives.*"

"A lot of women have developed a lot from what they have learned from women's groups. They can look after their families well compared to the past."

"I have gotten cups, mattresses, blankets and saucepans from being in the group. Some of the members have learned digging. Some of the women that could not read or write have learned how to do that."

Unlike the other themes discussed in this Chapter, women's groups are not a restriction to women. Rather, they have become a fundamental development and support network. Various groups have been initiated by churches, local development organizations, and small groups of local women in order to generate financial capital and educate the members[17]. Craft production, farming, baking, credit and savings programs, literacy classes and tree planting are a few things some of the groups do. Two examples of grassroots organizations - the Butobere Women's Development Group, and the Ugandan Women's Tree Planting Movement - typify the spirit and potential of women's organizations in Uganda.

Within Butobere, the Butobere Women's Development Group (BWDG) is a success story for its founders and members. Formed in January of 1994 by a small number of village women, the initial goal of the group was to establish a credit and savings society[18]. The group then branched out into handicraft production, but quickly abandoned

---

17

The Two Wings agroforestry groups are not included in this discussion, as they have been covered elsewhere in this thesis and in detail in other studies (see Guinand, 1995).

18

Credit and savings clubs are very popular within Kabale villages. Usually, the club has a bank account to which each member contributes a small sum each week. The capital is then used to finance loans and purchases of household items for the members.

that pursuit due to a saturated market[19]. The group has undertaken such diverse activities as baking, basket and mat weaving, literacy classes, and vegetable farming. Currently, vegetable farming for market sale is the group's primary activity[20].

The group is governed by an executive committee of nine annually elected women. They have a bank account that is managed by a treasurer. There is a membership fee of 3,000 Ugandan Shillings (USh) to join the group. If a potential member cannot afford the fee (which is the case for many group members), she can raise it by working for the group and other community members. Funds are raised from the membership fee, missed meeting fines, and the sale of various group products. The group is not engaged in agroforestry, but has some interest in integrating trees into their vegetable garden and teaching the members about agroforestry[21].

The BWDG has strict rules about attendance at meetings. The members meet every Thursday morning to work in the BWDG's fields for a few hours. They grow vegetables for market sale and use the money to further the group's activities and raise capital for members to access as loan funds. Sunday afternoon is the administrative meeting and lasts one to two hours. If members fail to come to a meeting, they are fined 400 USh. Missing more than 3 consecutive meetings or not paying a fine can result in

---

19

The members still produce handicrafts for their own use and on order but it is no longer an organized group activity.

20

The group owns a large garden plot that was donated to them.

21

Specifically, the group has an interest in planting fruit trees, such as oranges, avocado, and passion fruit.

expulsion from the group. This system appears to work, as they have grown from 23 original members to 52 as of October, 1995, and they have only lost three members within the last two years.

The group has attracted a wide range of women members. According to the president of the group, most of the women are subsistence farmers who own very little or no land. They range in age from late teens to 70+. The majority of the women are from the lower socio-economic classes (groups one through three of the wealth ranking categories), and many are the heads of their households[22]. Interviews with group members indicate that the members have gained substantially from the group, both in knowledge and material items. In October of 1995, the group received a seven million USh loan from the Uganda Government Poverty Alleviation Program (PAP). The funds are being used to provide loans to group members to purchase plots of land.

A second example of women's group activities is the Uganda Women's Tree Planting Movement (UWTPM).The group was created in 1985 to promote afforestation, tree planting, and environmental conservation by grassroots rural women's groups[23]. The UWTPM believes in and supports grassroots efforts and the self empowerment of rural

---

22

These statements are estimates based on information given by group members and community members. Exact figures were not available for the group.

23

The founder and current executive director of the UWTPM is a midwife from southwest Uganda who saw the need for trees as a health issue impacting on the nutrition of women and children. Without an adequate supply of firewood, it was difficult for women to cook the more nutritious foods, such as potatoes and beans. Thus, even if the women grew these foods, they did not necessarily have access to them for their own consumption, and tended to eat more simple, easy to prepare (and less nutritious) foods.

women by facilitating their projects, but not "doing it for them". Other services available to rural women's groups includes business and proposal writing seminars, woodlot management education, literacy classes, financial planning services, family planning services and AIDS education. The UWTPM is aware of the interconnected nature of environmental degradation and socio-economic factors, and hence aim to increase awareness of the environment and motivation to plant trees through addressing other key needs areas identified by the women's groups. The UWTPM has collaborated with ICRAF and CARE in past initiatives to promote tree planting and soil conservation in Kabale District. According to the executive director of UWTPM, there is a general awareness of the environmental issues facing Kabale District, but the lack of property ownership for women, and population pressures on the land in general are preventing women farmers from doing anything about the problems.

Women's groups are a vital development resource and a potential means through which to promote agroforestry, not only in Kabale, but in other parts of Uganda as well. The groups recognize the inter-relatedness of socio-economic factors on agricultural production and are addressing these issues to create situation specific solutions. As well, the groups recognize and understand the demands and constraints faced by the women. Thus, they are in a strong position to address these demands and constraints.

Summary of the Issues: Impact of the Themes on Women's Decisions in Land Use

In this chapter, six themes affecting the agroforestry behaviour of women farmers have been identified and discussed. They include land and tree tenure of women farmers, population pressure, land availability, household demands and women's resources,

alcoholism and family violence, AIDS related illness and death, and female community solidarity. These themes are not mearly abstract issues to be considered; they are substantive concerns that have a tangible impact on household and agroforestry systems in Kabale District.

Having access to land is the most important variable identified in terms of ones ability to plant trees. This land can be ones own, but land acquired through marital channels is also eligible for tree planting. Having adequate access to staple foods, and then cash income to meet family needs are the next order of priorities that women seek to meet with their land use behaviours. Drains on the household, such as an ill family member, newly arrived children (grandchildren, nephews/nieces with deceased parents), domestic violence and alcohol abuse problems complicate household needs and often result in channelling of resources to meet these requirements, at the expense of potential agroforestry practices. Women's groups help to alleviate poverty problems and empower women to learn new skills.

When confronted with the decision of whether or not to plant trees within a crop or home garden system, these factors are considered during the decision making process. In chapter VI, this process is conceptualized and modelled in the form of a decision tree, and applied to a specific situation.

CHAPTER V

BAKIGA WOMEN: 5 STORIES OF LIFE AND LAND

This chapter details the life stories given by five women participants; information about themselves and their communities as they told it. The five women were chosen from the group of women interviewed during the first segment of the study based on their individual and family socio-economic attributes. These attributes included having the characteristics outlined in wealth categories two or three (see Appendix 1B). The intent of the researcher was to choose five women that collectively comprised a representative cross section of the women farmers that live in Butobere. This objective was believed to have been achieved by the group of women presented below. All of the women were residing in Butobere parish and making their living as subsistence farmers at the time of the research. The women wished to be identified by first name only.

Throughout the course of the data collection period of the study, these women were visited several times at their homes, in their fields, and during community events or group meetings. In order to ensure the accuracy of the information and the clarity of meanings, similar questions were asked on different occasions and in different formats. The stories are complemented with information about the women and their families gained from researcher observations and conversations with other community members.

The stories were initially desired to be presented in the first person, with the woman as the narrator. However, since information was complied through a combination of translated interviews, conversations with villagers that knew the women, and researcher observations, presentation of the information was considered to be more appropriate in

the third person. As well, the conversations were conducted through a translator. Therefore, the information presented is a combined reflection of the interpreter's translation of the women's words and the researcher's interpretation of what the translator said, rather than the women's actual words.

Every effort has been made to reproduce the stories as closely as possible to the direct translation. Changes in words, sentence structures, and grammar were made only if necessary in order to clarify the meaning of a sentence. Therefore, the writing style of the following passages may be inconsistent, grammatically incorrect, and lacking a smooth 'flow'. As it is the intention of this chapter to chronicle the lives of Kabale farm women as they *currently* are, the narratives are written in the present tense. In order to give the narratives structure and allow for ease of comparability between the women, the individual narratives are subdivided into six sections each; personal information, household composition and available resources, labour responsibilities of household members, land and trees, perceptions of rural women's constraints, concerns and priorities, and changes over time in women's lives. However, as each woman chose to discuss different things in detail, the categories differ somewhat from person to person, and thus are not directly comparable.

The life story data collected from the women were analysed as case studies and a summary is presented at the end of this chapter. What has emerged from the case studies is a contextual account of the realistic manifestations of the themes described in chapter IV and their effect on the lives of Kabale farm women. Individual variations, as well as similarities, are discussed in the summary.

Stella

Personal Information

Stella is a young woman of 30. She has completed her studies up to primary seven[1]. She came from Kitanga village in Mparo District, but shifted to Butobere when she married about eight years ago.

Her husband is from Butobere. He is a motorcycle mechanic. He works with two other men. This is the only motorcycle fixing shop in the District, so they are usually busy.

The Household: Composition and Resources

Stella's household consists of her husband, her three children, her younger brother, who is studying in Butobere at the secondary school, and her sister. Stella's eldest child is in school, while the others are still too young. Her sister is sick. Stella's elder brother also lived with her for awhile, but he left. He is in Kampala now, but Stella does not know what he does there.

They live in a three room mud house with a newly acquired iron sheet on the roof, where the thatch used to be. Stella earned the money to buy the iron sheeting partially from her women's group funds, and some from selling second hand clothing in the village. The yard also has a granary, a small kitchen area, and a garden space. In the garden

---

1

The Ugandan school system is modelled after the British school system. The first seven years are at the primary level (p 1 through 7). After primary school is secondary school. Secondary school has six levels (s 1 through 6), after which one is qualified to write entrance exams for post-secondary education. School fees for primary school are 9,000 Ugandan Shillings (USh) per semester. There are two semesters in one year. The school fees for secondary school are 30,000 USh per semester. These fees do not include books, supplies or uniforms. Not all villages have secondary schools, therefore, those that can afford to go may have to leave home.

space, there is a plantain banana plantation (*matooke*) in which pumpkins, sweet potatoes and climbing beans are seasonally grown. The *matooke* trees were already growing there when Stella came to live in the house, so she only has to maintain them and plant the seasonal vegetables.

In the classification of women into socio-economic categories, Stella was placed into category two, "People who don't have soap" based on the amount of land she owns, her income generating activities, the agricultural yield she produces and the educational status of her children. Her actual characteristics are a mixture of categories two and three, and she is somewhere in between. For example, her compound has a pit latrine, she owns some household items, and she occasionally will hire labour to fix her house of dig in her fields[2].

Her weekly household income is approximately 20,000 USh[3]. Most of this is spent on food, school fees for her son and younger brother, and charcoal. Of this, she earns about 18,000 from her various activities. The husband sometimes contributes some extra money. Food and charcoal are her greatest expenses. Health problems and occasional illnesses also take up a lot of money.

Stella is the one who decides how much money is to be spent and how to plan for

---

2

The hiring of casual labour appears to be an element of social status within the community in addition to being a productive necessity. Many category 2 and 3 women who hire themselves out to dig will also report infrequently hiring a day labourer on the occasions that they can afford to.

3

Estimates of cash income are vague estimates, and should be approached cautiously. The women often had considerable difficulty estimating their income, as it is inconsistent, and often circulates through the household rapidly. This is the case for all five women.

her home. Her husband contributes some[4], such as food about twice a week, but otherwise, she is responsible to provide everything. No one else contributes income to the household.

Labour Responsibilities and Time Use of Household Members

Stella is the one who does the food preparation and cooking for her family. She usually cooks two meals a day, but when there is not enough food, she cooks one[5].

Each meal takes about one hour a day to prepare. She cooks about one half of a kilogram of beans and one cluster of *matooke*[6] per meal. The food is cooked over charcoal because she has no tree plantation. Her charcoal costs about 600 USh per day. She can also buy firewood, but it is much more expensive, so she does not do this. A meal of soft foods requires about three pieces of wood to cook it, while a meal of dry foods will need about five pieces to cook it. Prior to 1995, the family had no land to cultivate[7], and

---

4

Stella's husband has a consistent source of cash income, although he claims that it does not bring in much money.

5

According to Stella, it is not as common anymore to not have food, because of the land she bought, but before the land was purchased, the family suffered without enough food several times during the year. It usually happened in the wet season, when the crops were not yet ready, but last season's food supply had been depleted. Therefore, there was not any extra food around that they could get from neighbours. It also happened when there was not enough money.

6

Plantain banana.

7

Stella is a member of the Butobere Women's Development Group. From the Ugandan Poverty Alleviation Program (PAP) loan they received in October 1995, Stella borrowed 120,000 USh to buy a plot of land she had periodically rented. She plans to use the money generated from the sale of excess crops to make payments on her loan. This land is her property, and her husband has no control over it or claim to it. *"She's smart to buy that*

therefore used to buy most of their food, except for matooke and vegetables from the garden, and some staple foods that were grown on the plot of land she sporadically rented when she could afford it.

The children assist with household tasks by fetching water, but no one else assists with the food preparation. The children are too young to do very much except fetch water and sweep the house. The eldest spends most of his time in school. After school, he hangs around the mechanics area with his father or does things she does not know about.

She earns income by selling charcoal, sweet potatoes and some other kinds of vegetables by the side of the road, and digging in other's fields. She also sells second hand clothing in the village and in town when she has enough money to buy some cheaply from the market in town. This activity does not bring in very much money.

On a typical week, Stella spends her days selling things if she cannot get work digging. She buys the things she wants to sell on "credit" and then charges more for them in the village. After they are sold, she pays back the loan[8]. Stella started doing all of these activities right after she was married and left her mother's home. If she can get work, she will spend about half of the day digging. This pays her between 700 to 1000 USh per day,

---

land. Now, if something happens to the husband, she won't be left with nothing"(interview respondent, Butobere). Stella intercrops maize, sorghum, sweet potatoes and climbing beans on this land. Now that she has land to grow staple crops, Stella plans to grow other vegetables in her garden, such as tree tomatoes, cabbages, and carrots, to sell.

[8] This type of petty trading was reported by many respondents as a means of earning income on an irregular basis. It is an activity that can be undertaken when there is spare time, and the credit is extended informally by people the women know.

depending on the size of the field, and the amount of work she does. Then she will go home, prepare a meal, and do other work around the house, like washing clothes, weaving baskets, sweeping the compound, and selling things.

Stella is a member of the Butobere Women's Development Group (BWDG). On Thursday and Sunday she goes for group meetings. She also rents a plot of land for 5,000 USh per season. She only rents one plot at a time because she has no money to pay for more. She grows beans, maize and sweet potatoes. This rented plot is cultivated in the time available between the other activities.

Land and Trees

Stella and her husband own the land the house is standing on. They received it as a gift from her father-in-law when they married. She has been in that house for six years, and intends to live in it until she grows old. Then, it will be given to her sons. The girls will be married by then and will not be given anything.

Now that Stella owns some of her own land, she is better off. She bought this land from some poor people that needed the money. There is still some land around to be purchased, usually from poor people or old people. Since she bought the land, she is still poor, but at least she has something of her own. If her husbands dies, she will be left with this land, even if her in-laws try to take away everything else, including the house and garden space. Stella has already signed a document saying that when she dies, her eldest son is to get her land. She signed this document in order to avoid future conflicts in the family over the land.

When Stella bought the land, her co-wife complained, because she [the co-wife]

thought the husband had bought the land for Stella. According to Stella, most co-wives become jealous and complain to the husband if another wife does well and gets something for herself, even though the husband cannot do anything about it. The co-wife cannot do anything to Stella or claim her land; she just talks and is jealous. In *Bakiga* culture, some women will use charms and cast spells over other women if they are jealous of them[9].

Stella would like to plant some Calliandra[10] trees around the boundary of her plots, but does not have very much room to spare. She also does not have money to buy the seedlings.

Stella uses trees to get building materials, but it is the men that do most of the building. She usually buys whatever materials are required for her compound, such as timber poles and fencing materials. She has no access to trees that do not belong to her.

Perceptions of Women's Lives: Their Constraints, Concerns and Priorities

When Stella married, she expected to have land. She also expected other things,

---

9

Witchcraft is a part of *Bakiga* culture, and is often used to harm others. Many women told stories of other people they knew who had been bewitched and had died, been blinded, lamed, or burnt because of it. The *Bakiga*, especially the rural people, tend to hold many superstitions and have a belief in the power of charms made for witchcraft (Taturyatemba, 1995a). The contents of the charms and spells are not openly discussed or told to outsiders. A survey undertaken by ICRAF staff in the area inquiring into the types of indigenous trees planted in home compounds, and the reasons for planting those trees, discovered that more than 50% of trees were planted to either provide antidotes for local poisons, or ward off evil spells (Peden, 1995a).

10

Calliandra is a multipurpose tree (MPT) commonly used as a hedgerow in Kabale. The Kabale ICRAF/AFRENA project is actively researching the potential of Calliandra as an agroforestry species, and encourages women's groups to plant Calliandra as a boundary marker in their fields. Research indicates that crop production may increase on slopes with Calliandra boundary markers. It is also a common animal fodder and used by women farmers for stakes for climbing beans.

like getting rich, but it did not turn out that way.

According to Stella, her problems are many. They [the village women] face many problems because they are in rural areas. Stella thinks that the husband is less concerned about his wife in rural areas. They [the husbands] spend the whole day drunk. So they come home and disturb their wives about children, family affairs, food, and such things.

As her children grow up, she will try to stay with them and try to provide everything if necessary, especially education. This education may be able to give them jobs so that they can look after themselves by being able to buy their own land.

Changes in Women's Lives

Her mother was very hardworking when she was Stella's age. She (the mother) would cultivate her land, grind sorghum, fetch water, cook, collect firewood, and other kinds of things. Most of her life was spent working on the land and for the family. She (Stella) cannot compare her life with her mother's because Stella has had no land for most of her adult life.

The lives of her children are different from when she was a child. Her children do not have enough food, no clothes, and not enough school fees to educate them because she is poor compared to her mother's life. Stella attributes this largely to having no land to cultivate.

Since she joined the BWDG, there has been a noticeable change in her family. There has been some development[11] in her home, in particular, her family is better taken

---

11

'Development' is a translated term used often by women in the village women's groups. According to the women, the term refers to initiatives and education that aid the women in

care of and have more material items because Stella can get household items through working in the group, and she can borrow money from the group. Other groups also lend the BWDG money for 'development'. She has acquired cups, bowls and mattresses from working in the group.

Perpetwa

Personal Information

Perpetwa is a 38 year old widow originally from Ruhama village, Ankole (Mbarara) District. She moved to Butobere when she married, in 1980. Perpetwa's husband died in 1983. Ever since then, she has been staying in the compound her husband left her in.

Perpetwa attended school up to primary three. She stopped going to school because her parents could not afford to send all the children, and she could contribute more staying around the house. She cannot read or write in *Rukiga*, but she has attended a few literacy classes organized by the BWDG.

The Household: Composition and Resources

Perpetwa lives in a two room mud and thatch house. She lives there with her three school aged children. She had four children, but one of them disappeared last year. It was a girl of about eight years old, and she did not come home from school one day. Perpetwa has no idea what happened to her. It is not common for children to disappear like this, and Perpetwa is still looking for her.

Perpetwa's household economic characteristics are similar to those in category

---

lessening their poverty and providing material items for the family and household.

two, except she can afford soap and her children appear to be reasonably healthy. Her monthly household income is estimated at 100, 000 USh. She earns this money through her participation in the credit and savings activities of the BWDG, selling any agricultural surplus, and selling some of her trees for building poles and firewood. She gets about 500 USh for a bundle of wood (10-15 sticks of firewood), and earns about 30,000 USh per year from the sale of tree products.

Perpetwa's household has no other sources of income. She spends most of the money on food, hospital costs[12], school fees and clothing. She usually purchases soap, salt, and maize flour when she runs out of the supplies she gets from her fields. She does not buy things such as sugar and milk, because these things are expensive and her family can do without them. Approximately 10,000 USh per year is spent on hospital costs[13].

Labour Responsibilities and Time Use of Household Members

Perpetwa is a member of the BWDG, so she spends Thursday mornings digging in the group's plots and Sunday afternoons at the group's administrative meetings. Outside of these times, she usually goes to dig in her plots every morning, Monday through Saturday. On Sunday, she usually goes to church in the morning, unless there is a funeral or it is the wet season and she has to plant. During the wet season, she spends more time

---

12

"Hospital costs" refer to visits to the doctor and the occasional purchase of medicine when someone becomes ill. People in Butobere frequently complained of health problems and being "sick".

13

This expenditure tends to vary over time depending on the incidence of illness in the family, the severity of the illness, and the amount of money available to spend on the ill person. It is not known what priority is given to illnesses in deciding how to allocate household income.

in her fields planting and weeding. In the afternoons, she will go to dig in someone else's fields for money.

Perpetwa lives up in the hills and she fetches water from the valley below. It takes her about 30 minutes to walk to the river from home. Her children assist her in fetching water. Every child carries a small jerry can of water. They fetch this water normally in the morning, or in the late evening on school days. When it rains, they are happy because they can collect rainwater that falls from the roof into big drums, so they don't have to go so far to fetch water everyday. This is usually when the rain is heavy.

The children are home weekends and in the evenings, after school. Their work at home is washing dishes, and sweeping and tidying the house. Perpetwa will give them work according to gender if they are old enough. Very young children do what they can, such as fetching water, regardless of their gender. Older girls will wash the dishes, and clean the house, as well as fetch water and collect firewood. The boys are expected to fetch water and gather firewood.

Land and Trees

Perpetwa has four small fields, including the one her house is built on. She also has a eucalyptus plantation. She did not acquire all these fields at once. The plot that contains the house was given to her husband by his uncle before they were married. The tree plantation and a piece that lies down in the valley was purchased by her husband after they married. The other two fields she acquired from her father-in-law. She used to have an additional field that was given to her by her father-in-law after she married, in 1981. In *Bakiga* culture, when a man gets a daughter-in-law, he gives her land to cultivate. This

land was later taken away from her by her brothers-in-law, after the death of her husband[14].

Her fields are far away from the house and from each other, so she finds it difficult to cultivate and supervise them. It takes her approximately an hour to reach them. Travelling the distance to dig every day is tiring, especially if she has to carry things such as seedlings and a hoe there with her. It takes her at least one and a half hours to walk to her woodlot.

In the fields, she plants maize and beans. After this is harvested, she plants sweet potatoes, and then she plants sorghum in the following harvest. All of her fields are small, except the one containing the woodlot.

Not all of the land she acquired from her father-in-law was taken by the brothers-in-law. She gave them one plot, but fought for the others. The fields she was left with were left to her because she was assisted by the RC and the elders, who considered the land to belong to her based on some documents she has. In the case of the one plot, she did not want to go against her brothers-in-law any further. She thought that the brothers-in-law would never leave her alone, so she decided it was easier and less stressful to simply give them some of her land than to keep fighting them for it.

Perpetwa knows of a few other people who have had similar conflicts over their

---

14

Land that is the most vulnerable to a claim by in-laws after the death of a husband is land that was given to the couple by the husband's parents. Although the law clearly states that the land is property of the widow and her children, many in-laws feel that the land belongs to their family, and therefore, they are entitled to it if the son is not alive to benefit from it. Land purchased by the couple after marriage is not included.

land. One example is a woman whose husband died several years ago. When the woman recently gave birth to the child of another man, the mother-in-law was so enraged by this that she destroyed the woman's house and tried to chase her off the land. The house had been given to the woman's husband by her father-in-law, and she remained living in it after her husband's death. The mother-in-law destroyed it as a punishment for the woman's misbehaviour with her brother-in-law. The woman has reported the incident to the RC, but it is taking a long time to get a decision. This case is difficult one to solve, because everyone is in the wrong; the mother-in-law for destroying the house, and the woman for having a child from outside the family.

She has a problem with her far fields in that they are grazed on, and when the food is ready it is stolen. This especially happens with her Irish potatoes. It is the young children that are supposed to be grazing animals on fallow land, but their animals end up grazing on people's crops while they are playing their own games and not paying attention. She has planted maize and beans in her home garden surrounding her house. She does not have any banana trees.

There are no differences in male and female planting of species of trees. Men and women choose the species to plant according to its intended use. Even cash and timber trees, primarily the domain of men, are planted by women if the household has the land to plant them in and decided they want to grow these trees. There is also little difference between the uses of trees by men and women, except that men used trees for commercial purposes, such as brick making and as building materials, while women use them for home purposes, including firewood for cooking and brooms for sweeping.

Possible barriers that may inhibit Perpetwa from tree planting include lack of money to buy the seedlings, and lack of land to plant them in. Barriers to tree survival include children uprooting them or grazing animals on the seedlings, diseases, and drought [during the dry season]. There are no solutions to these problems except fencing[15], as reporting to the police and the Resistance Council costs a lot of money.

Perceptions of Women's Lives: Constraints, Concerns and Priorities

Perpetwa claims to have no problems, except the usual home problems of poverty. She finds it difficult to pay her children's school fees. She doubts if they will be able to go back to school next term. This is because the fields have decreased in their usual yield, so now there is little source of income to buy books, pay school fees, and buy school clothes.

When her husband died, she had wanted to go home, but her mother had refused her. Ankole is better than Kabale, as they grow enough foods like cassava, beans, bananas and sweet potatoes. These things bring in a lot of income. Now, she is overworked in order to look after her children. She decided not to leave, but to stay and cultivate the land she already has.

Also, she feels that taking her children to a foreign land would be difficult, as they may not be accepted in the new village, and her in-laws might complain[16]. Perpetwa had considered leaving the children with the in-laws, but she feels that nobody cares about

---

15 Due to the continuous movement of soil downwards on hill slopes, fences are not built around agricultural fields. Fences were observed around some of the home compounds in the villages in Kabale District, but it is not a common practice.

16 Given what Perpetwa has to say about her in-laws following this statement, it is not clear as to why they may have complained. Further questioning did not provide an explanation.

them enough to look after them properly, so if she were to leave Butobere, she would have to take her children with her. When her children get sick, none of the in-laws bother to come see them, nor do they greet her children on the street[17]. The in-laws do not get very involved in her or her children's lives.

Perpetewa thinks that men are not very concerned about their families, so the women carry the burden to look after their families. Men do not assist in anything. Even if they get jobs and are paid, they can't contribute anything. Men will hide their money from their wives. These men drink a lot to the extent of selling their own land without the wife knowing about it. It has never happened to her, but this is common.

Perpetwa believes that the laws in Uganda that apply to women and children do not need to be changed. They can stay as they are, because women can now go to the RC if they are being disturbed. However, the rights of women and children are limited, because men can still sometimes punish them and disturb them. When men are drunkards, they bring a lot of problems into the home. There should be equality and respect for one another; men need to learn how to treat women.

Changes in Women's Lives

When Perpetwa's mother was Perpetwa's age, she also had some land that she had gotten from her husband. That land was her mother's sole source of income, and it was enough to provide for the family.

17

Greeting is a very important part of *Bakiga* culture. To not greet a person you know, or someone of higher status, when one encounters them out in public, is considered very bad manners and an insult.

The responsibilities of children have changed since Perpetwa was young. When she was a child, she had someone to advise her in the things she did. Now, so many children are orphans with no parents, or the parents are separated and poor. They have no one to guide them as they grow older.

Mary

Personal Information

Mary is 70 years old. She is originally from Butobere. She was married when she was 20 to a man from Nyabushaby village in Kabale District. They decided to live in Butobere as it is located near town for them to open a business. Mary's husband died several years ago.

Mary has never attended school, and has not learned how to read or write in *Rukiga*.

The Household: Composition and Resources

Her household is large and complex. She gave birth to 10 children, six of whom have died at different points in time. Over the years, many people have moved in and out of Mary's household. It currently consists of three of her adult children, their spouses, and five grandchildren. Two of the grandchildren came to live with her after their parents died. The other three were born here and still have their parents. The grandchildren are the only ones that are there on a regular basis. Of her three children and their spouses, they are not always around. They stay in different places, but usually come home after a few days or weeks away.

Her aunt's daughter and her sister's son also used to reside with her. She educated

these children to primary four and primary five, respectively. The girl came to live there when her mother abandoned her to go find a job somewhere else, but the girl left to find work at the age of 20. The nephew came to live there when his mother died and his father married another woman. The other woman was unkind to the boy, so Mary decided to take him in. He also left to find work elsewhere when he was old enough. She had, at one time, care of her other nieces and nephews. Her sister went to Kenya, and had left her children there, but reclaimed them when she returned. Mary's mother is also residing in the household.

Mary is the second of two wives. There is no contact between her and her co-wife.

Similar to the other women in this study, Mary's household socio-economic characteristics most closely resemble wealth category two. Over the course of her life, the amount of land and resources she has had access to has varied somewhat, but has generally stayed within the boundaries of category two or some aspects of category three. In some respects, Mary also resembles category one, and thus, she is the poorest participant in the study. Her greatest asset is her woodlot, as it is currently full of mature trees.

The household earns about 7,000 USh per week. Mary earns the bulk of this money. Of the children, only one works regularly. This one is in Masaka and sends money home only occasionally, approximately once per year. The sum is somewhere around 100,000 USh. The other children do contribute, but only a very small amount of money from odd jobs and tasks such as digging.

Spending the household money on food and needs for the grandchildren is Mary's responsibility. She decides what is needed and then buys what she can with the money she has. She tries to pay the grandchildren's school fees, but she cannot always manage. Because of this, the children frequently miss semesters of school.

Labour Responsibilities of Household Members

Mary cooks two or three times a day. Meals take about one and one half hours to prepare and cook. The family typically eats beans, sweet potatoes, groundnuts, Irish potatoes, peas and *matooke*. For one meal, she usually cooks about one kilogram of beans and a big basket of sweet potatoes. She cooks every new meal, and not once for the family to feed on for the rest of the day, like most women do. The food they eat is what they produce. She has some land, so she gets what they need from her garden and fields.

They do not produce ground nuts, meat, salt, sugar and milk. These things are purchased when there is extra money. Salt is the most common purchase; the other things are not necessary. More important staples such as millet flour, maize flour, *matooke*, Irish potatoes and beans are also purchased when they don't have enough. Food is the greatest and most important expense for the household. Cooking is done with charcoal or firewood, both of which she must purchase. One meal requires about 500 USh worth of firewood or 300 USh worth of charcoal. She prefers firewood, but uses charcoal when there is none.

The children all leave the farm to work everyday. They are often at home on weekends. The grandchildren dig in her fields, collect wood and water, and do other chores when they are not in school. The boys do day work on other farms, look after

cows, cut wood and wash clothes. The girls fetch water, do housework, cook, help bathe and look after the younger children.

Mary earns income by digging in other people's fields independently and for the women's group. She does this everyday, and tends to her own housework and field work on weekends and when she has spare time. Thursday mornings and Sunday afternoons are filled with BWDG activities. Although she would like to attend church regularly, she does not usually go on Sunday mornings. Sometimes, she has problems finding time to dig in her own fields because she has to work for others first. Earning money takes priority as an activity.

Land and Trees

Mary owns three plots of land. They are small plots of poor fertility. Two are close to the house, within an hour's walk, the other is in Nyabushaby, a four hour walk to reach. She grows sweet potatoes, beans, and peas. The food grown on these plots is consumed by the household. There is rarely any left over for sale. She used to have more land, an extra two plots, and this was enough to provide for the family, but the town council took it about 20 years ago and rezoned it for municipal building purposes. These two plots were given to Mary when she married by her parents. It was their will to give their daughter land, as they liked her. The other plots were purchased.

She also has a small tree plantation in addition to her agricultural fields. The plantation contains mature eucalyptus and black wattle that were planted in the 1970's and 1980's. There are about 30 mature trees on the woodlot. She is planting more trees in the woodlot now, and has seedlings in various stages of growth. She buys her seedlings from

the town council. She planted the trees herself, and now that her husband is dead, she owns the trees. The trees are used for building material and firewood. When the trees are needed for timber, or are not big enough to be cut, then she buys firewood. The children also use her trees for firewood and building materials. Their use is controlled by Mary and the children must ask before they cut a tree or take any products.

Places she cannot plant trees include in the fertile fields, as the land is needed for food, and near the house, as she is afraid that the tree may fall on the house. At times, some people from the village will complain if trees are planted on fertile land.

Timber and firewood are the most important tree products she uses. She also uses brooms made from trees. Drought, uprooting, and grazing are problems that she faces in having her trees survive, but Mary is very matter-of-fact about these things and does not view them as problems, but rather as occurrences that she must deal with and solve. She would like to plant more eucalyptus and black wattle trees, as well as some casuarina[18].

Mary does not know of any differences in species planted by men and those planted by women, nor does she know of any gender differences in use. On the farm, women do the cultivating and harvesting in the fields, while men go out and hire labour and do other such jobs.

Mary also rents some land, one or two plots a year depending on how fertile the land is and what she can afford to rent. This land is more fertile than the land she owns.

---

[18] Casuarina (*Casuarina* sp.) is a MPT planted by farmers for timber, soil fertility enhancement, shade, and aesthetic purposes. It is an agroforestry species of interest to ICRAF researchers in Uganda.

She rents it for one season at a time. These plots are about two hours walk from her home, in Makanga. She does not use any other land other than that owned and rented, and neither she nor her husband have ever sold any land.

They used to own cows and goats, however, most have died and now they are left with only one cow. Mary cares for this cow, which generates income through the sale of milk.

When Mary is too old to cultivate her land, she will pass it on to her children. It will be divided equally amongst the children. She foresees no reasons why she may sell her land, as she figures that if she encounters serious problems, she can rely on her children to help her out.

When her husband died, his brothers tried to reclaim the land that they had inherited from his father. They were going to take it and share it. Mary reported it to the RC and the elders, and paid them some money to deal with it. The RC spoke with the brothers-in-law, and explained to them that the land was Mary's and to leave it alone. They had already been given their fair share by their father, and he had given that portion to Mary's husband and his family. This intervention worked and the brothers-in-law left her alone.

After the land is passed to the children, Mary will no longer use it, as she will be too old, and her children will then provide for her. She will still be able to use the trees, but the children will cut them for her. She will not harvest things herself. She is not permitted to use any trees owned by the community or town.

Perceptions of Women's Lives: Constraints, Concerns and Priorities

When she married, Mary expected her life to become easier. Her husband would look after her and she would educate her children. This was not possible because some of her children died, and for others, she could not pay school fees. After marriage and children, she was responsible to provide food and school fees. She was not always successful in providing enough.

The most serious problems faced by women today are family problems, particularly where the lack of contribution from the husband is concerned. Producing too many children is another serious problem for women. The reason that this is happening is that men have failed to work together with their wives and so this has caused many problems in families. Men don't know the value of children.

Mary has been a member of the Butobere Women's Development Group for one year. She joined in order to develop herself and learn from other women. She does not miss meetings except when she is sick. The most important activities undertaken by the group are digging vegetables, learning, and developing her family. Also important are the learning and the development of the women as a community that takes place as a result of the group.

When asked about laws protecting women from their husbands, Mary responded that women must listen to their husbands no matter what, even if he is a drunk. Women should respect their husbands. Women of the past had to accept whatever situation the husband gave them, as he was head of the family.

The introduction of the RC is a positive change for women, and if women have a

problem they must report it to the RC. The laws do not need to be changed, as they have helped a lot of women as they are. One must pay, however, to receive help from the RC.

Women can legally own land, and if a woman has land from her husband, then no one should come and interfere with that land. She knows that the law states that if a woman's husband dies and leaves land, the wife and children should take the land with nobody interfering, including the in-laws or a second husband of the woman.

Changes in Women's Lives

Mary sees improvements in life in general from her mother's generation to her own. When Mary's mother was her age, she was not educated. One such improvement has been in health, sanitation and home economics education. Mary's mother didn't know the use of cleaning food and not cleaning food. She had to go much farther to get water.

Mary thinks that there has also been a change for the better in the women's skills to organize their homes and manage their money. She never attended school, but she learned all these things from the women's clubs and the church. The church, women's groups and fellow women have helped to teach each other about household issues, caring for the family, planning and managing money.

The biggest change in children's lives from when she was a child is the reduction in land. Now, families have to share land, and there is not enough to go around. Also, today's children are not as well behaved as they were in the past. They do not want to go to school or work. Parents used to educate them. Today it is the same, but they are hard to control. Mary is not sure of why these changes have occurred.

Mauda

Personal Information

Mauda is a 47 year old farmer whose husband has abandoned her and married another woman. This is not a traditional situation of polygamy in which the husband remains the husband of both wives. Rather, he chose to disassociate himself from Mauda and their children. He left them about three years ago, and has not contributed anything to the household or well being of the children since.

Her husband is from Bugongi village in Kabale District. They used to stay in Bugongi before the husband left. Now, she is staying in Butobere with her mother who gave her some land. The husband chased Mauda away and refused to let her continue using the small amount of land he has.

Mauda was educated to primary two when she was a girl. She stopped going to school because it was not regarded as important in those days for a girl to be educated.

The Household: Composition and Resources

Members of her family are five children. They are her children; two girls and three boys. She has three grandchildren from her first born girl. She does not stay with anyone else except her mother, her children and her grandchildren. Her first born is 20, and the others follow with a difference of two years.

The eldest daughter is married, but the rest are of school age. Her daughter does not stay with her husband at present because she is seriously ill[19]. She left the husband's

---

19 Mauda's daughter died of AIDS in January, 1996, after these interviews had been completed.

place to come stay with Mauda when he was not giving her enough care.

The other children are often at home during holidays and also on the weekends. Two of the boys are in boarding school, the other one stays home but he is schooling in Butobere. The girl stays at home because the money available for school fees was not enough. It was the children's decision which one was to stop studies, and she was the one who decided with the boys to stop going to school. She saw the ways her mother worked hard for them and then decided to stay home and work with her. The ones in boarding school are in secondary four and secondary six.

She has relatives in Nyagera village. These are her elder sisters and brother. She also has another brother in Mbarara. She has nieces and nephews staying in Mbarara whose parents have died. They stay with her every holiday and go back home when it is beginning of the school term. The children in Mbarara are her eldest brother's children. He died at the same time as his wife of AIDS. There are three children - she does not know how old they are. They are all still in school. They are staying with no one else in their house.

Economically, Mauda's household is described as category two. In the past, she experienced circumstances closer to category three, but due to a variety of problems and additional expenses, she is managing with less now.

In a year, she gets about 360,000 USh. This money is earned from digging and trading bananas and sweet potatoes. She is paid 800 USh per day when she is digging. The other amount is earned from the group. She earns about 1,000 per day, which is consumed immediately to buy things. The profit from what she trades is very small.

The children do not earn anything for the household because they are young and still in school. No relatives assist them by contributing money to her family. The money Mauda earns is spent on food, hiring occasional labourers to work on her land, and hospital expenses.

She used to have two cows, but one died. The other was sold for school fees for the boy who is in secondary six. She kept these cows for more than three years. She sold the cow for approximately 60,000 USh. In one year, the cow brought in an income of about 100,000 USh from the milk. She used to use this milk money to pay the children's' school fees. She used to have goats also, but due to other problems she gradually sold them off. She sold about 15 goats to buy medicines for her daughter, pay labourers to dig in her field, and pay school fees for her children and grandchildren. She still has one goat left.

Labour Responsibilities of Household Members

Mauda does most of the cooking for the family. She says that this is because the children are young and not ready to look after themselves. Her mother has ill health and cannot to do much work, but she still helps with cooking. She cooks one kilogram of potatoes and two kilograms of beans a day and this supplies the family with two meals. She purchases things like sugar, rice, and salt if there is extra money. She buys also foods she does not produce on her own, such as ground nuts, Irish potatoes and vegetables.

The children also assist her in cooking. She uses firewood, about three pieces for every meal. She gets firewood from other people's plantations, especially where she can find fallen branches. One is not supposed to do this, but she sneaks and hopes she does not

get caught. Others in the village also take fallen branches without permission, especially from the school's woodlot. She buys some firewood, about one bundle in a week. A two day supply of firewood costs 10,000 USh. When the girl stays at home, she does the digging, washing, and cleaning the house.

Land and Trees

She has land of about two acres (five plots) in which she grows sweet potatoes, sorghum and climbing beans. She also has a home garden where she plants vegetables and beans. Her fields are far from her house and from each other. It takes her about one hour to walk to them.

All these plots were given to her by her mother. Her mother saw that Mauda and her children were suffering, so she decided to give her part of the land that her dead husband had left her. The remaining land was divided amongst her other siblings who live close enough to cultivate it.

She sometimes rents lands because most of her plots do not grow well. She uses a rented plot of land for a year and if it is fertile, then she uses it for more time. The amount of rent she pays depends on how fertile the land is and where it is; if it is fertile and located in a good place, then it is more expensive.

The land will be given to the children. All children will be given some land irrespective of their gender. Each will receive an equal share of land. When she gives out this land to her children, she will not have any right to use it at all. Before she gives them land, she says she will educate them to the level she can, and then give them their freedom.

She has a plantation of trees and some trees in her fields. She has planted trees, but

they are used mostly for sale in whole tree [timber] form. The tree plantation will also be given to her children in the future.

She has planted some trees for cutting for sale. She has trees in her home garden and others which act as medicinal plants. These trees are eucalyptus only. She is the one responsible for those trees. She does not allow any person in her family to use them. The only people who have a right to cut the trees are her mother and her children. Before they can cut a tree, though, they must ask Mauda's permission. She uses trees for firewood and building material and others for selling. Most of them have been sold in order to get money for her daughter's treatment.

If she had more land, Mauda would like to plant more trees. She would prefer to plant eucalyptus because it grows quickly. The reasons why she wants to plant these trees are that they add fertility to the soil, prevent soil erosion and also because you can save your money in them and if you get any problem, then you can sell them.

Mauda has experienced problems with uprooting and grazing over tree seedlings that she has planted in the woodlot, usually by children tending cows or playing games and not paying attention to what they are doing.

Perceptions of Women's Lives: Constraints, Concerns and Priorities

As previously mentioned, Mauda has problems of sick children and lack of school fees in her family.

Mauda is aware of the fact that a woman can own land, and that no one is to interfere with her ownership if she acquires it through the right procedures, such as inheriting from parents, the husband dies and leaves it in your hands, or when she

purchases the property. Relatives used to take way property when the husbands of women passed away. This was not right. Today, women have the right to claim for property left by their relatives, especially parents and husbands.

Also, if a person were to cut Mauda's trees without permission, she would report it to the police or RC member of her village. It is better if you can catch the person red handed, but if it is just suspected, then it can cost you a lot of money for nothing. The police or RC's will work on her case quickly and thoroughly if she pays some money. Without money, one cannot get anything done.

Problems rural women face are lack of capital to start businesses when they have nobody to assist them. In the future, she thinks she will encounter problems paying school fees for her grandchildren.

Changes in Women's Lives

During the course of the interviews, Mauda did not provide any information relating to this topic.

Lois

Personal Information

Lois is a widow of approximately 65 to 70 years of age. This is an estimate, as she cannot remember her age.

She has been living in Butobere most of her life, and has been in her present house since she married when she was a young woman. Her husband was from another village, Nyakyishenyi. She lived in his village for a very short time after their marriage, then the couple shifted back to Butobere when her father-in-law purchased land here.

Lois gave birth to seven children, but only two daughters and one son are still alive. The two eldest died when they were young children. One daughter died in Kampala. Her other son and his wife died of AIDS two years ago, within a few months of each other.

Lois did not attend school, nor is she able to read and write in *Rukiga*.

The Household: Composition and Resources

Lois lives with and provides for six of her grandchildren. Her son died 2 years ago and his wife died shortly thereafter, leaving her with the children. She has two adult daughters living in town, and a son.

Lois' husband died many years ago, leaving her with the land she has now. Her father-in-law used to reside with her, until he died several years ago, leaving her with all of his property. She no longer has any other in-laws, as they are also all dead.

Lois and her family have a standard of living quite similar to that described in wealth category two, with the exception of a few things, such as the animals she used to own and the large banana plantation surrounding her house. Lois has lived like this for most of her life.

She has a two room mud and clay house with a thatch roof. Her compound also contains a small mud and thatch kitchen. She owns two wooden chairs and a few kitchen utensils such as a cooking pot and a few cups and bowls. The family typically eat and sleep on woven papyrus mats. The items have been owned by Lois for many years.

All of the food they consume is produced on her or her grandchildren's fields. The children must cultivate the land owned by their parents if the family is to have enough to

eat. Some of her crop produce is occasionally taken to town and given to her two children that live there. The daughters do not make much money and sometimes need help with food.

Lois has no source of cash income. She digs in her own fields only, and often finds that she is too tired and weak to do much work. She is teaching her grandchildren how to dig so that they can assist her and assist themselves when they are older. They cultivate their own food, and the children are involved in UNICEF sponsorship programs for school fees, soap and clothes[20].

In the past, Lois used to keep one cow and a few goats. She received the cow as bride wealth when her daughter married about five years ago. They have been gradually sold off over the last two years to pay school fees for the children, and buy clothing and household items. The household still has one goat, and the children keep a few chickens.

Labour Responsibilities of Household Members

Two of the children are in school. Their school fees are paid for by an UNICEF program. Currently, the grandchildren cultivate those fields in addition to the land surrounding Lois's house. The children spend their days in the fields; digging, planting, weeding or harvesting depending on the season. They are also responsible for caring for

---

20

It was not clear exactly which sponsorship programs the children were involved in (if any), as Lois had difficulty discussing this in detail. It is only known that "*school fees for the children are being paid by other people. These children are the ones who bring home things like clothes and soap being given to them by people who look after them*" (interview transcription, December 23, 1995). During the researcher's first visit to her farm, Lois asked the translator if the researcher was with UNICEF and had come to put the other children in school. Since she knew of UNICEF's sponsorship programs, it is assumed that there has been some contact with them in the past.

the goat and chickens.

Lois does most of the cooking and food preparation at home. The children assist with food preparation such as shelling beans and peas, digging potatoes, etc. and fetching water. She cooks one meal a day, in the midday, and it feeds the family for the evening meal and the next day's meal, until she cooks again. The family typically eat beans, sweet potatoes, *matooke*, porridge or *posho*[21].

Land and Trees

Lois's house is up in the hills, about a 45 minute walk from the main road of the village. Her fields surround the house. This land was given to her by her father-in-law when he and her husband were still alive. After their deaths, no one challenged her for the land because all her other in-laws were already dead. She has a large banana plantation and three average sized plots. Unlike many home gardens in Kabale, there are no other plants intercropped among the banana trees.

Lois also used to cultivate an additional plot of valley land that was owned by one of her sons. The son received it from his grandfather[22]. This plot was further than a one hour walk from home. It was sold many years ago to a person that wanted it for a dairy farm because the son had no children at the time[23], and therefore did not need to keep it

---

21
Cooked maize flour

22
Giving land to grandchildren is not a common practice in *Bakiga* culture, as usually there are many children waiting for property.

23
This same son now has nine children.

for inheritance.

About one fourth of a kilometer away from her house is another, smaller house. It was the house of her son that had died from AIDS. The house is now locked up until her grandchildren grow old enough to take it over. The fields surrounding the house also will belong to the grandchildren.

Since Lois has three plots of land and the children have three or four surrounding their parents house, and the food they produce is used for household and family consumption, Lois believes she can spare some land. She leaves one plot fallow, usually for one season at a time.

In the future, Lois' house and fields will be given to her remaining children, the son and two daughters that live in town. Her son will get the house, garden and a plot of land. The girls will receive one plot of land each. Both girls are married, however, Lois plans to leave them a share with documents stating that the land is theirs. This is to keep their husbands or their husbands' families from trying to take over the land. She will pass the land onto her children when she is too old to work it herself. Then, the children can care for her.

Prior to Lois' husband's death, he had sold a piece of land to a neighbour. After the husband died, the neighbour tried to extend his land holdings by encroaching on some of Lois' adjoining plot. In order to stop this, Lois' son[24] planted some eucalyptus trees along her plot border to indicate the boundary of their plots. This strategy worked, and he

---

[24] This is the same son who lived nearby and died two years ago.

stayed off her land. However, since the death of her son, the man comes and cuts the trees in the night and steals the firewood. Fortunately, he does not do it very often. Lois believes it is because he is afraid of being caught. So far, he has stolen two of her trees. Lois states that if he does it again, she will report it to the RC.

Lois does not have a tree plantation, nor has she ever had one. She uses corn and sorghum husks for firewood, and buys charcoal from the village. She would have to purchase building materials if she required them for her farm.

Perceptions of Women's Lives: Constraints, Concerns and Priorities

The problem of ill health and children dying are common in families. This was a problem when her children were young, and it is still a problem now. These are problems that will never end.

Women now need more money that they used to. Most women get money from joining the women's groups and going to dig for it in other people's fields.

Changes in Women's Lives

Lois does not know of changes in women's lives. She has worked as hard digging her land as her mother did, and her children have just as many problems of health and dying children.

She does have concerns about the future well being of her grandchildren and their ability to provide for themselves. Since the children will not receive a full education, they will not find jobs and will be dependent on their land. The land they have is not enough for six, and it is of poor quality. They will have to keep working very hard for less and less. When the girls marry, they may get more land from their husbands, or they can join the

women's group. As for the boys, they will have to share what they have and try to earn money to buy more.

Summary

These are stories of women from Butobere parish, Kabale District. In spite of their differences in age, history and household structure, these five women are quite similar; the themes discussed in chapter IV are evident in greater or lesser degrees in each of their lives. They all have slightly unique circumstances, and face different challenges everyday. These individual variations provide context for the themes identified in chapter IV, and an understanding of how the themes function in reality to affect women farmers, their decisions, and their actions.

These women have not been drastically affected by issues of land and tree tenure. With the assistance of a women's group, Stella has purchased her own land. Mary and inherited some land from her parents, while Perpetwa and Lois both own land that came from their husbands' families. They do not own a large amount of land, but what they have belongs to them and how it is used is under their decision making control. Mauda's experience of receiving land from her mother is an example of how women are able to use their available resources to capacity to solve a problem, and how *Bakiga* families will assist women in difficult circumstances.

As noted in chapters I and II, household structure and headship is an area of considerable interest to development agencies and scholars. It is widely believed that women from male headed households have different issues to grapple with than do women who head their own households. In many southern nation locales, the evidence certainly

supports this hypothesis. However, in Kabale District, a significant observation that emerged from these interviews was that the presence of a male head of household did not necessarily impose different circumstances for women farmers in terms of their subsistence production capabilities and constraints. The similarities in roles, repsonsibilities and excpectations placed upon women with and without husbands can be attributed to the social expectation of women as responsible for the family and household, and the tendency of *Bakiga* men to expend their resources outside of the household. In wealthier households (wealth categories three, four and five) male earnings may be contributed to the upkeep of the home and children, however, average types of households do not receive much in terms of male head of household contributions. The one area of potential significant difference is in land holdings of people within wealth categories two and three, as married women may be more likely to have guaranteed access to land from their in-laws.

All five of the women were within wealth category two. However, the data collected from this sample indicated that having a husband, being a widow or being abandoned did not seem to have a substantial impact on the resources available to the women, or their responsibilities. Husbands of women from wealth categories one, two, and three have been identified by the *Bakiga* women as being less likely to help their wives and contribute to the household and family maintenance than are wealthier men. This is evident in the wealth categories described in appendix 1b, and is was evident in this interview material from Kabale.

AIDS was having an impact family resource use, particularly in Mauda's case. Lois

as well has been affected by the AIDS epidemic and has had to alter her resource management practices to provide for her grandchildren.

Women's group involvement has been a beneficial influence in the lives of most of these women. In addition to material items and cash, being a member of a women's group has provided women with moral and social support networks, and an informal institution for learning.

What is perhaps the most important insight in terms of the purposes of this study is that these women are managing to survive[25]. They have land, and a desire to work hard to provide for their families. With appropriate education and support, it is possible to have these women implement agroforestry into their fields.

---

[25] Alcoholism and family violence are conspicuously absent from the accounts. While many women respondents raised the issue in general terms, it was never discussed specifically.

CHAPTER VI

THEORETICAL MODEL: HUMAN ECOLOGY, GENDER AND *BAKIGA* WOMEN'S TRIPLE ROLES

The Human Ecology Framework: Integration of the Model and Women's Lives

The theoretical framework adopted for this study was a combination of human ecology and gender identity. Thus, it was the ultimate goal of this project to create a substantive theory in which *Bakiga* women's lives can be understood in terms of their gender identity and roles and placed within a human ecological model, which could then be embedded within an ecological model of the agroforestry system. The concept of triple roles was instrumental in identifying women's responsibilities and priorities and placing them within an appropriate socio-cultural context.

To illustrate how a human ecological approach, combined with an understanding of the social manifestations of gender constructs, can be used as a tool to comprehend the inter-related complexities of farm women's lives, Mauda's circumstances were placed into the human ecological model. Mauda was chosen as a case to model for the simple reason that her life was considered by the researcher to be interesting. Any one of the other four participants would have been equally suitable candidates to have their case modeled.

Human ecology, gender identity and Moser's model of the triple roles of women have been discussed in detail in chapter I. In brief review, a human ecological model conceptualizes humans in systems of dynamic interaction with both near and far environments. The individual or group can be analysed from the human ecological perspective. A basic assumption of this approach is that the ecological well-being of the

natural environment is a macro-level determinant of the quality of human life, and that all human decisions and actions have an impact on the health and sustainability of the earth's resources (Bubolz and Sontag, 1993).

Gender is a social construct that results in individual concepts of self and notions of social interaction. Hence, one's social roles and expectations are largely related to gender. Since roles and expectations are associated with other social factors, such as class and age, the work and responsibilities of women may be considered a natural extension of their gendered self and therefore become invisible.

To make the invisible visible, Moser (1989) proposed viewing women's lives in terms of their triple roles and identifying each task associated with the roles of reproductive, productive and community work. The male counterpart of these roles is primarily in the productive, as the primary income earner and in community leadership/formal organization at the political level. The reproductive roles of men are not clearly defined, nor is reproductive work considered to be within the framework of male responsibility.

The Triple Roles of *Bakiga* Women

As noted in other chapters of this thesis, *Bakiga* women from varying socio-economic classes faced different circumstances and had access to differing levels of resources. In spite of this, some generalities of the roles and expectations for women have been stated. While these roles and expectations may hold true for all classes of women, they were particularly applicable to 'average' farm women that lived in conditions resembling wealth categories one, two and three.

Reproductive

The reproductive realm of women's responsibilities includes all of the aspects of childbirth, child raising, and household work that ensures the sustainability and continuation of the labour force. This role can include food production and preparation, housework, and caring for the children.

In Kabale District, the household and children were the primary domain and responsibility of women. The women undertook all the digging, planting, weeding and harvesting associated with crop production in Kabale District during the period of this study. Occasionally, a man worked in the fields, but his work was usually in the capacity of day labourer for another land owner, or clearing a new plot of land for production. "*All agricultural work is done by women*" (respondent, Butobere village, December, 1995).

Women were also responsible for all the household tasks, such as cleaning, sweeping, and having repairs made to the house. If the repairs required hiring labour, the women often paid for the work. Children assisted with this work, especially in fetching water, sweeping, and washing dishes.

Babies and small children were tended to, fed and cared for by their mothers. The women took their children with them most of the places they went, including the fields. Men did not typically care for babies or small children.

Productive

The productive role refers to income generating activities and commercial market pursuits. The productive role comprises work done for cash or other forms of payment. Any activity, whether it be a part of the formal or informal economy, that generates

income is considered to be productive work.

For many women, particularly those from wealth categories one, two and three, income generation to pay school fees and buy household items was a part of their daily activities, whether or not there were other income earners in the household.

Activities commonly done by women included selling and trading small amounts of surplus crops and charcoal in the village, agricultural labour, and activities associated with a women's group. Aside from scheduled group meetings, these activities were done in conjunction with one another and consumed a lot of time. For example, women often spent the morning of a typical day digging in their own fields. Then, they worked in other's fields in the afternoon. If they could not find work digging, then they set up 'shop' on the side of the road to sell things, or, if they were at home preparing meals, items for sale were displayed outside the house for sale to anyone who comes by.

Woodlots used for commercial production, once considered to be the work of men, was being undertaken by women. In female headed households that owned a woodlot, women planted trees, maintained them, and cut them at their own discretion. Many women from male headed households also did this work; others had to consult their husband before making tree related decisions. This largely depended on the personality of the husband.

Community

Community management activities are an extension of women's reproductive role. It is unpaid work which ensures the continuance and well-being of collective community resources, such as water, education and health care.

Since this study was concerned with the impact of women's responsibilities on agroforestry practices, less information was collected about these activities than about the reproductive and productive realms. While the women of Butobere may have been very active in community projects, such endeavours were not readily observable during trips to the community as the focus of visits was on the home and fields.

The care of sick children and AIDS victims was an essential and demanding community service fulfilled by *Bakiga* women. This included not only providing and administering medicines to the ill person, but also preparing meals and spending time caring for the person and any children the ill person had.

Teaching children (especially girl children) agricultural skills such as "how to dig" was the occupation of women; usually the children's mother or grandmother. Women in Butobere also spent time educating and supporting one another, particularly the women that belonged to women's groups. In addition to digging and other income generating activities of the groups, women taught one another skills such as basic literacy and baking.

The results of this study clearly indicate that within the roles and expectations of *Bakiga* women in Kabale District there was considerable overlap between their reproductive, productive and community management work. For example, while generating school fees was a productive activity, it often became the woman's responsibility because it was associated with the care of children. All labour tasks, except for building[1], were being done by women, thus placing considerable demands upon their

---

[1] Constructing houses, fences, granaries, etc. was the occupation of men. Women did not report doing any building, nor were they observed doing so.

time.

Application of the Model: Mauda's Life in Human Ecological Terms

Mauda's life was first conceptualized in terms of her own human ecological reality, using Bronfenbrenner's (1979) model of the developmental environment of the individual. Bronfenbrenner's model identified four nested levels, with the individual at the centre. Within the most immediate environment, the **microsystem**, are the relationships and activities that are present in the individual's daily life. The next layer, the **mesosystem**, is the processual, interactive layer. It represents exchanges between the microsystem and the exosystem. In this instance, the mesosystem operates as the decision making process of Mauda, and how the decisions she makes based on her life circumstances impacts on her farming system and how she utilizes her land. The **exosystem** contains more distant influences that have a direct influence on the individual, whether or not the individual is present or aware of the influence. The outermost structure, the **macrosystem**, represents the influences of the larger society and the encompassing context of values that comprise a culture.

Figure 5 is a depiction of Mauda's life within a human ecological framework. Mauda is at the centre of the system, surrounded by the tasks, relationships and responsibilities that comprise her triple roles. These include the needs of her children, grandchildren and mother, all of the responsibilities associated with providing food and income for the household, her women's group activities, and the demands placed upon her by her daughter's illness. More distant but tangible influences include historical occurrences in Mauda's life, development agencies operating in Kabale District, the

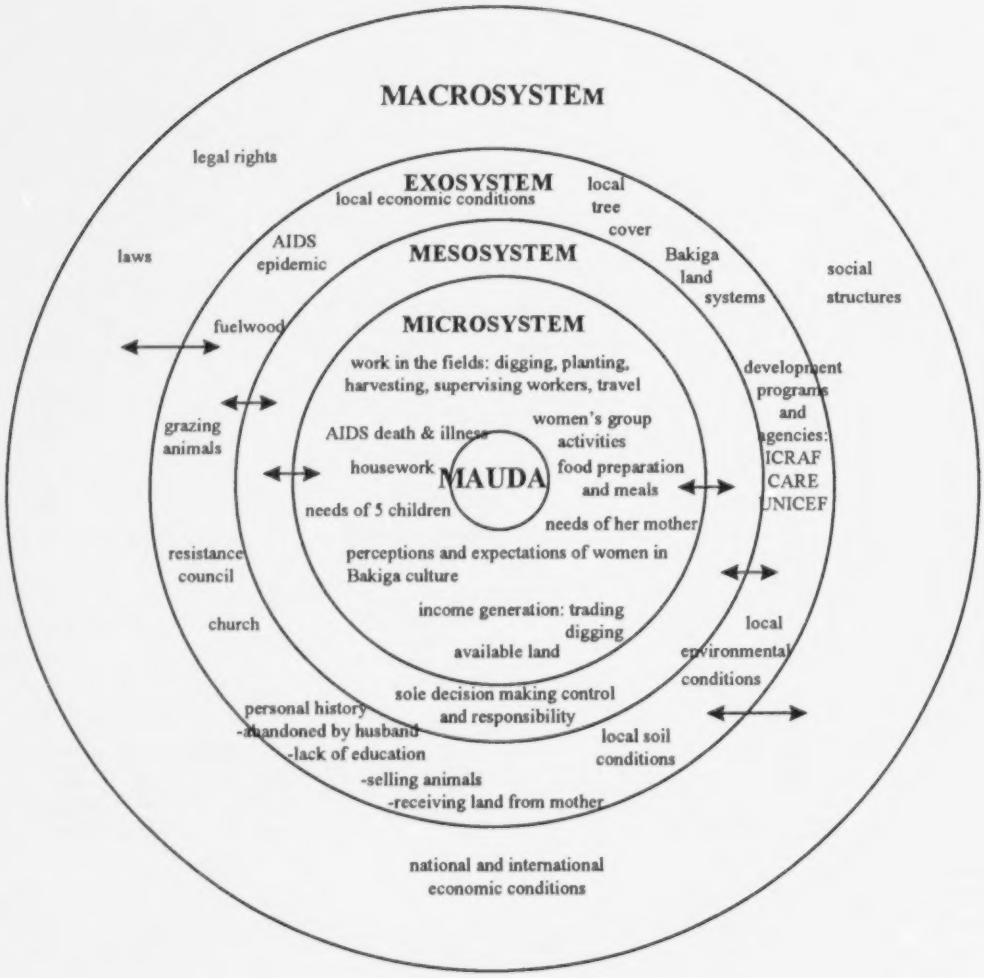


Figure 5. Human ecological model of Mauda's life circumstances.

environmental conditions of Kabale District, the local fuelwood shortage, the church, the parish Resistance Council, *Bakiga* patterns of property and land inheritance, and people grazing their animals on her fields. The majority of exosystem factors operate at the community level, as opposed to macrosystem factors such as the Ugandan legal system, guaranteed rights of women, national and global economic conditions, and the AIDS epidemic which operates at national and international levels.

Figure 6 shows the interaction of the most immediate levels of Mauda's ecological system with the agroforestry micro and meso systems. In this model, the microsystem of the agroforestry system is its biophysical components[2]. An important point to note is that there is a difference between the microsystems of an individual and a farming system, and that the human components of a farming system are operating within the farming system's mesosystem, rather than in the microsystem. The microsystem elements of Mauda's life create the social relations of production and resource utilization decisions and strategies within her household. The social relations of production are comprised, largely, of the elements found in Mauda's microsystem, while the resource utilization decisions are a product of the social relations of the microsystem and occur within the mesosystem. Taken together, these relations, decisions and strategies, impact upon the agroforestry microsystem in terms of how land is used.

The Mesosystem: A Decision Making Process

The processes occurring in the mesosystem are shown in Figure 7. This figure

---

2 The agroforestry system is described in detail in Chapter I.

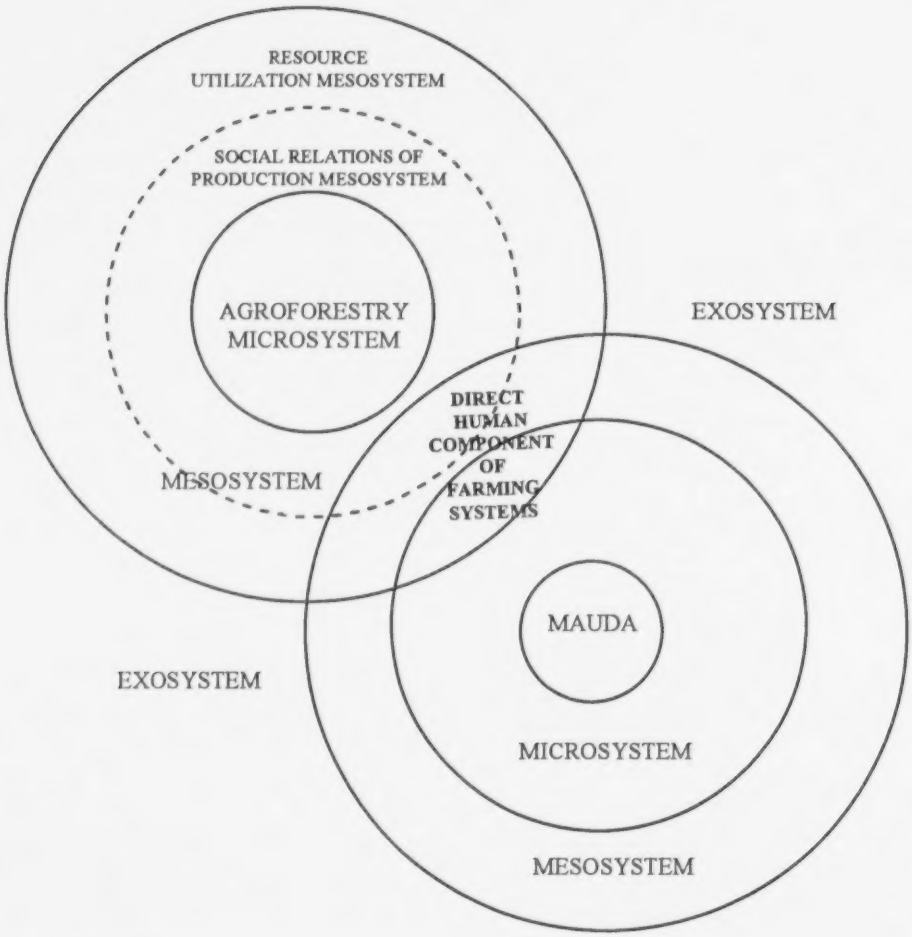


Figure 6. Interaction of individual micro and meso systems with the agroforestry micro and meso systems.

Figure 7. The impact of access to resources and household demands placed upon women on the land use decisions made by women farmers in Butobere Parish, Kabale District, Uganda.

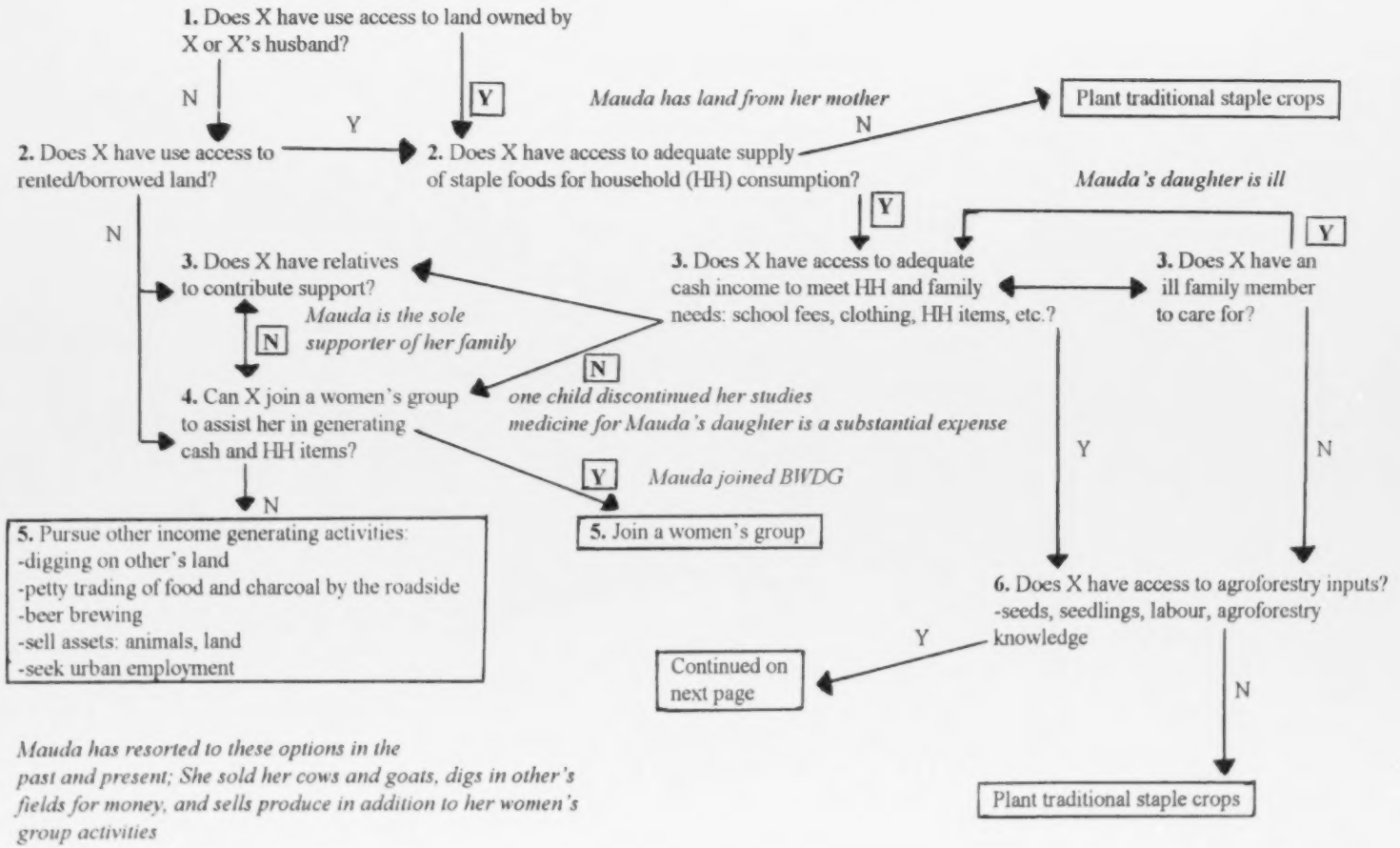
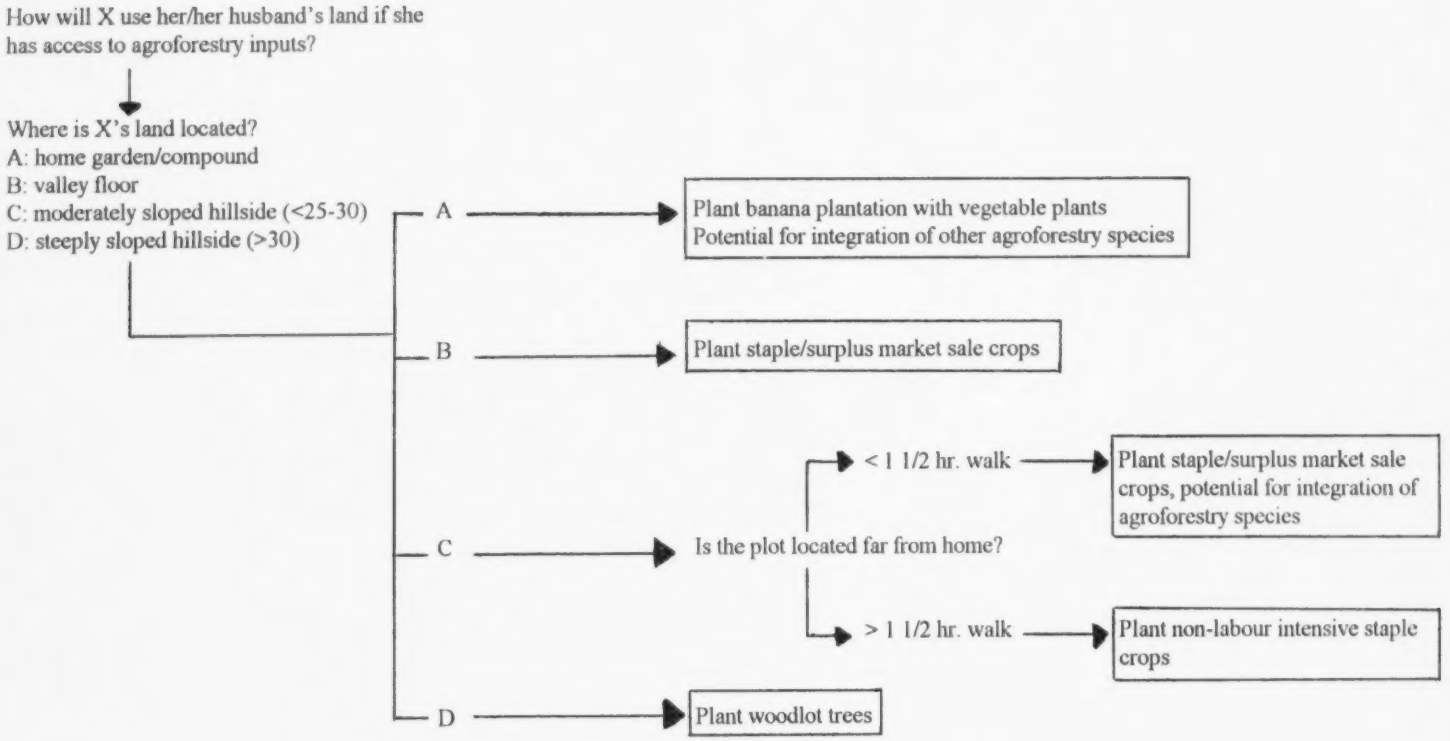

1. Does X have use access to land owned by X or X's husband?
N
Y
Y
2. Does X have use access to rented/borrowed land?
2. Does X have access to adequate supply of staple foods for household (HH) consumption?
Mauda has land from her mother
N
Plant traditional staple crops
Mauda's daughter is ill
Y
Y
N
3. Does X have relatives to contribute support?
3. Does X have access to adequate cash income to meet HH and family needs: school fees, clothing, HH items, etc.?
3. Does X have an ill family member to care for?
Mauda is the sole supporter of her family
N
N
one child discontinued her studies
medicine for Mauda's daughter is a substantial expense
4. Can X join a women's group to assist her in generating cash and HH items?
Y
Mauda joined BWDG
N
5. Pursue other income generating activities:
-digging on other's land
-petty trading of food and charcoal by the roadside
-beer brewing
-sell assets: animals, land
-seek urban employment
5. Join a women's group
Y
N
6. Does X have access to agroforestry inputs?
-seeds, seedlings, labour, agroforestry knowledge
Y
Continued on next page
N
Plant traditional staple crops
Mauda has resorted to these options in the past and present; She sold her cows and goats, digs in other's fields for money, and sells produce in addition to her women's group activities

Figure 7. Land use choices of women farmers in Butobere with owned land and access to agricultural inputs.



depicts the impact of each of the themes identified on the decision making process and typical outcomes of land use associated with basic resources women claim to need and frequently lack. The model is a generalized conceptualization of the issues considered when making land use decisions. Mauda's circumstances are presented in the model, showing how some of the issues she contends with work to constrain her from practicing agroforestry.

The technique of ethnographic decision tree modelling was used to construct Figure 7. Ethnographic decision tree modelling is a research method in which the processes of decisions are identified, through ethnographic fieldwork techniques, from an emic perspective (Gladwin, 1989). In this case, however, the decision tree model is used as a tool for analysis, rather than a research method.

The decision tree presented in Figure 7 is a post-fieldwork model. The model has not been tested or revised in the field, as it would have been if the method had been used according to Gladwin's specifications; however, it does outline the possible decision making process used by *Bakiga* farm women and suggests an approach for future research.This directive for further research is revisited in a later section on future research and planning initiatives.

The criteria included in the steps of the decision making process, as well as the order in which each item appears in the process, were determined from the interview and observational data. Each step of the decision model is complex and could potentially be fragmented into a series of micro-decisions that create the macro-decision of each subsequent step in the model. For example, the criterion "Does X have relatives to

contribute support" (Figure 7, level three) includes situations of family members that send cash remittances home, relatives that give gifts of food, a brother lending a tract of land to an abandoned sister to cultivate, or a mother who takes in her widowed daughter and the children. Each circumstance creates individual outcomes of need with subsequent individualized decisions. However, in terms of identifying particular issues that impact on agroforestry behaviour, and the relative importance of each issue as articulated by women respondents, Figure 7 is an appropriate model of group behaviour with testable decision outcomes.

As Figure 7 clearly indicates, having access to and control over land is a first level requirement to the implementation of agroforestry; however, it is not the only consideration. Fulfilling the family's basic needs is the first priority of most women, and the decision of what to plant in the fields and home garden space reflects these needs. Plots tend to be used to generate sufficient domestic food supply and income to pay school fees. If a family member falls ill, available resources will often be channelled into the needs of the ill person. Women that have land (either their own or their husband's), who have their family's food and basic income needs met, and have access to agricultural labour, seedlings, and agroforestry education, are the most likely to implement agroforestry in their fields and home gardens.

Mauda has access to land and is able to provide sufficient food for her family. She is lacking in an adequate supply of cash income to pay school fees, buy clothes, and purchase medicine and medical treatments for her daughter. She joined a women's group, which has enabled her to generate some cash income. In addition to this, her past

experience of relocating after the breakdown of her marriage, and the cumulative demands placed upon her and the household resources by the needs of her children , grandchildren, mother and ill daughter have resulted in her gradually selling off livestock assets and working as a labourer and trader to generate additional income. Mauda is operating within levels one to five of the model. She does not have the resources to move into agroforestry practices, which are found in level six of the model.

The issues of alcoholism and family violence are not incorporated into the model. This is not to assume that they are insignificant influences. Rather, they are complex issues that may motivate numerous different decisions and actions. If a woman is confronted with issues of alcohol abuse and/or violence, the situation is further complicated in terms of how household resources are utilized and who is making those decisions. Questions regarding the quality and quantity of resources available to the household, economic activities of household members, and personality characteristics of household members factor into the process.

These issues cannot be adequately dealt with in Figure 7 because circumstances of alcoholism and violence, whether it is the husband, the wife or other family member that is the abuser, require their own decision model. As well, this was an exploratory study that did not focus on the particular circumstances of households afflicted with alcoholism and violence. There is not enough detailed information within the data set to develop a reasonable theoretical model of these situations. In terms of Mauda's life, she does not suffer from these circumstances, therefore, it is not relevant in her case to speculate how such occurrences would impact on her resource decisions and use patterns.

Figure 8 locates Mauda, her micro and meso systems, and her interactions with the agroforestry micro and meso system within the larger agroforestry ecosystem. The agroforestry micro and meso system depicted in Figure 6, and the larger agroforestry ecological model in Figure 8, were adapted from Bronfenbrenner's model and modified to suit agroforestry systems. Human ecological theory was chosen to represent these systems because it provides a useful tool for graphically showing how human and biophysical systems fluidly interact and influence each other.

In this model, Mauda and the agroforestry system are impacted by similar forces in their respective exosystems. These forces consist of, but are not restricted to, local development agencies such as ICRAF, CARE and others that address environmental and farming issues, the local educational system, the environmental conditions of Kabale (soil erosion and depletion, deforestation, etc.), land tenure and inheritance systems of the *Bakiga* people.

Both Mauda and the agroforestry system are located within the same macrosystem of the biophysical, economic and socio-cultural influences of Uganda and the global environment.

Project Summary and Conclusions

This study investigated the social factors that have an effect on the agroforestry behaviour of women farmers in Kabale District, Uganda. The original intent of the project was to focus on land and tree tenure as issues that have a significant impact on women's behaviour; however, through the course of the study it became apparent that other factors had a similar or greater amount of influence on the decisions women made regarding their

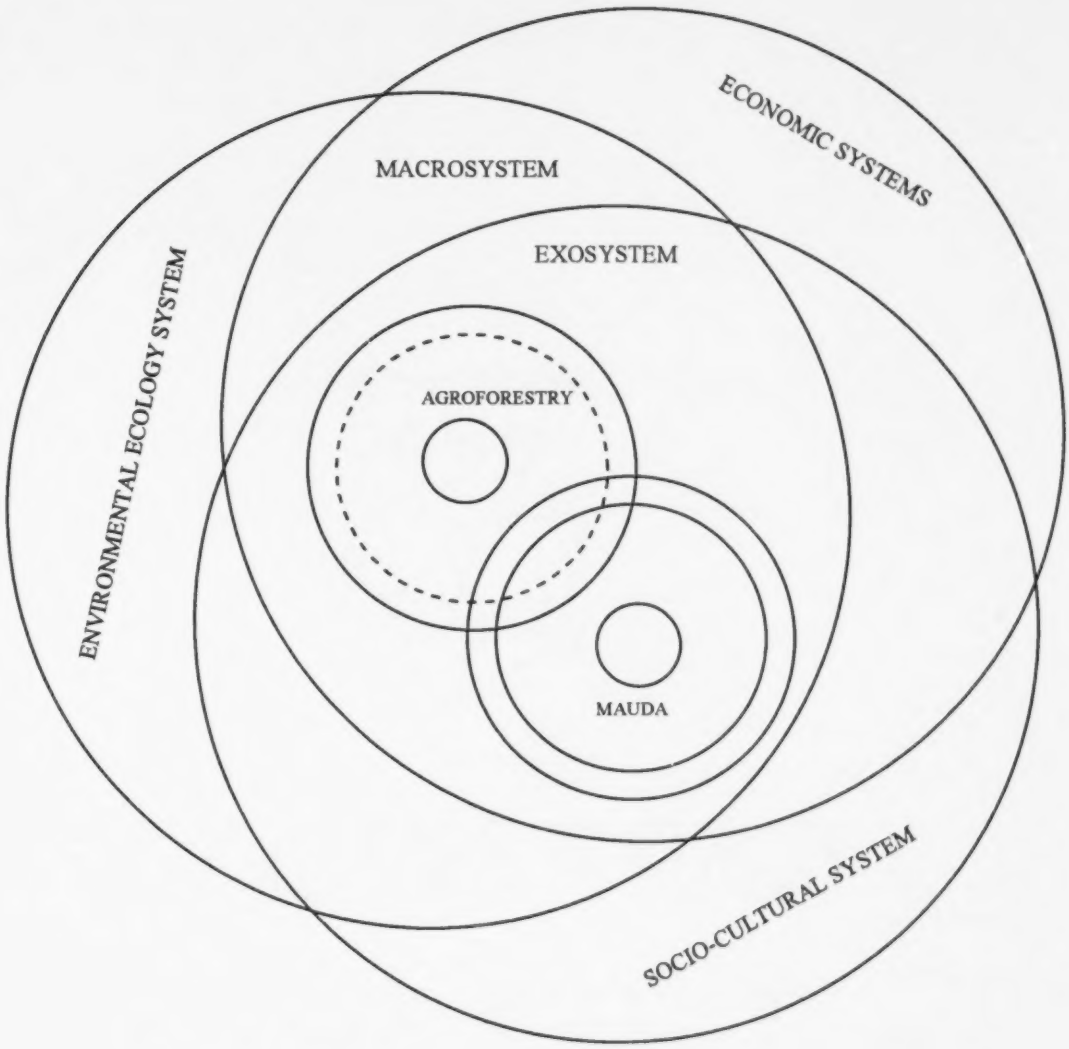


Figure 8. Human ecological model showing the placement of human systems and agroforestry systems within a larger environment.

land and their subsequent actions. In addition to land and tree tenure, the elements identified were population pressure and land availability, alcoholism and family violence, AIDS related illness and death, household demands and women's resources, and female community solidarity. Some of these factors acted as a drain on household resources, while others added to the resources available to women.

Five case studies were conducted with typical farm women from Butobere village to provide detailed, qualitative information about the practical manifestations of the themes identified. Many of the themes emerged within the life stories and were shown, in varying degrees, to have had an effect on the decisions and actions of women farmers in regards to how they utilized their agricultural land.

Human ecological theory, along with an awareness of gender identity and the triple roles of women, was used to create a model of women's lives that can be used to identify the less visible aspects of women's responsibilities and demands on their time. The model also depicts how women's lives interact with and affect the agroforestry system through individual decision making processes, and it illustrates the interdependency of social and biophysical environments.

The data collected during the course of this study suggest that Uganda is in a period of radical change for women. Women are living their lives, and inducing change through their actions, although the larger society, and even the women themselves, may not be overtly aware of it. Change comes from action, and even quiet actions can have significant impacts on social systems. The women of Kabale are not helpless victims of circumstance whom have no control over their own lives, land or labour. These women

are aware of their circumstances, and working hard to change them.

The interviews with farm women suggest that women have much more control over what is planted on the fields than previously believed. They make many of their own decisions regarding the land and are able to plant trees if they so choose without fear of eventually losing them. While many women expressed an interest in planting more trees, the main deterrent to actually planting trees was the perceived need to use the amount of land they had to grow food. "*Some people will complain if you plant trees on fertile land*" (interview respondent, Butobere village, January 1996). Basically, a woman cannot and will not plant trees on land that is used to grow food crops. This view persisted amongst women whether they possessed one plot or twenty plots of land.

A second, indirectly related point gained from the interviews was that perceptions of rural farmer women's lives varies between socio-economic classes of people. Ugandan women from the upper socio-economic groups, and well educated women tend to hold the stereotypical view of rural women as unempowered, marginalized, and helpless. While these perceptions may or may not be true, what is notable is that they differ from the perceptions and actions of the rural women themselves. Rural women tend to view themselves as resource poor, but able to change their circumstances if they work hard. Mauda's persistence in trying to generate enough food and monetary income to meet the needs of her family is evidence of this spirit of resourcefulness, hard work and determination to achieve her goals of providing for her family.

With these conclusions in mind, it is important to look at the future of Ugandan women in terms of their potential to become the developers of agroforestry initiatives,

since the 'average' farm women are most likely to be the people who, collectively, can implement agroforestry on a large scale. While no empirical numbers are available to demonstrate the strength of Ugandan women, there are clear indications of future trends emerging from the data of this exploratory study. Understanding the present is not sufficient to plan for the future. Women's attitudes are changing, and they are teaching new attitudes to their daughters, nieces and daughters-in-law.

Recommendations for Future Research and Action

Many of the influences on agroforestry behaviour identified and discussed in this thesis are beyond the mandate, expertise and authority of ICRAF. Recommendations for future research and programs are made with this point in mind.

There are many opportunities for detailed research into the issues presented in this thesis, especially the problems of alcoholism and family violence, and how a woman experiencing these problems will (or must) modify her agricultural production behaviours. Specific quantitative data is needed to understand such questions as how much land and resources are being used to care for AIDS patients and pay for funerals?, How much land is sold to finance a drinking habit?, and What are the relationships between land holdings, land use and resource utilization of subsistence rural farmers?. The decision tree model developed as the mesosystem of women's lives requires field testing and refinement to produce an accurate model that can be used by program planners to anticipate the decisions and actions of rural women farmers in Kabale District.

Many advocates of marginalized groups call for education as an answer to overcoming poverty and disadvantage. Certainly, educating the marginalized group about

available options is a useful strategy to overcoming poverty, but educating the dominant group is also needed. "*The men must be taught to know the roles and the value of their wives and daughters*" (Mubiru, 1995).

Future planning initiatives and agroforestry programs must acknowledge not only women's roles in agroforestry, but their position of power and decision making control. They need to be treated as the owners of initiatives, not simply as the major participators.

While it is easy to be enthusiastic about the gains made by Ugandan women, it is also important to be realistic. Not all women have decision-making control over their land. Some still do not have decision making control over the basic aspects of their lives, such as marriage and child birth. Collaborative research and development programs between agencies is needed to address these basic issues, as well as forge a link between grassroots empowerment of women and agroforestry.

The biggest identified constraint to practicing agroforestry is a perceived lack of land to plant trees on. Perceptions of one's actual land holdings compared to one's needed land holdings is an area for potential future research, as it has been noted that most women hold this view, regardless of the amount of land they have access to. The hypothesis suggested by this observation is that women who do hold more than adequate land to provide for their family tend to believe they need all of their land for food production because of the surrounding economic environment. Obviously, ICRAF is powerless to affect the population density and amount of arable land in the district, but ICRAF can address women's perceptions of agroforestry and trees, once it has been determined if the women's perceptions are an accurate reflection of reality.

If agroforestry is to improve in Kabale District, there must be more land, more domestic capital, and greater property security. Until the AIDS epidemic is under control, it is a variable with a significant impact that must be taken into consideration when evaluating the potential of agroforestry for a particular area.

Many of the studies referred to in this thesis repeatedly discuss the issues of traditional land ownership patterns, women's insecure tenure to land and lack of decision making power over land use as barriers to agroforestry adoption. This study indicates that these elements do not always present barriers to women farmers, and there are a large number of women in Kabale that have their own land, make their own decisions, and may be interested in learning about agroforestry. The same applies to women that have not purchased their own land, but have inherited, borrowed, rent or simply exercise decision making power over land they cultivate as part of the marriage agreement. Changing cultural norms and attitudes are beyond the scope of ICRAF's activities. That is for the Ugandans to accomplish. Thus, the women that do have land and make decisions over the land they cultivate could be identified and targeted as potential program groups.

Given the amount of time the women already spend in the fields, and the amount of time it would require to plant additional seedlings along terrace bunds and between crop rows, integrating trees into the fields does not represent an impossible exercise. Women who have already planted some trees as boundary markers in their fields state that it is not a great addition to their labour demands and tree planting activities can be easily integrated into their existing schedules.

Potential sources of resistance to planting trees are the general health status of

women farmers and the energy they feel they have available for the task. Many of the respondents in this study complained of being "sick all the time" and not having enough strength or energy to work as hard as they could when they were children. According to statements made by the participants in this study, a decline in general health status and enegry levels coincides with the birth of their children.

Finally, women's groups represent the greatest potential avenue for addressing all the related socio-economic factors shown to affect agroforestry production. ICRAF can continue to work with the Two Wings groups, but there is also a need to develop mechanisms through which other women's groups with an interest in agroforestry and tree planting can access the services and information available from ICRAF without becoming a part of ICRAF's direct programming. By keeping the women's groups separate from ICRAF's programs, it allows the women to pursue their interests without losing the autonomy of their group, while not placing any additional resource strains on ICRAF. This approach is also advantageous in that the issues that impact on agroforestry, but are beyond the scope of ICRAF, can be addressed simultaneously by a women's group for it's members, thus opening the doors for agroforestry practices on their farms.

In terms of concrete action, these arguments can be summed up as follows: ICRAF and other NGO's designing current agroforestry programs should work with the sectors of the population that can gain the most benefit from the activities. For example, Mauda is a woman with particular circumstances that create constraints to her adopting agroforestry practices in her fields. While she may, in time, change her situation to one in which she can begin to integrate trees with her crops, it is not currently feasible. Therefore, attempting to

involve a women's group comprised of women similar to Mauda in new agroforestry initiatives would likely be an inefficient and unproductive use of ICRAF resources.

Similar studies undertaken in different locales may assist in identifying women's realities and dispelling common myths about their lives that act to undermine development initiatives by aiming these initiatives at inappropriate target populations. Through the use of a refined decision tree model, women that are able to practice agroforestry can be identified and focused upon as program participants in agroforestry programs.

References Cited

Altheide, D. and J. Johnson. (1994). Criteria for assessing interpretive validity in qualitative research. In N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications. Pp 485-499.

Anonymous. (1995). Personal communication, Kicumbi village, October.

Barnett, T. and P. Blaikie. (1992). *Aids in Africa: Its Present and Future Impact*. London: Belhaven Press.

Barton, T. and G. Wamai. (1994). *Equity and Vulnerability: A Situation Analysis of Women, Adolescents and Children in Uganda, 1994*. The Government of Uganda, Uganda National Council for Children. Kampala.

Blair, H. and P. Olpadwala. (1988). *Forestry in Development Planning*. London: Westview Press.

Brock, B. (1969). Customary land tenure, individualization, and agricultural development in Uganda. *East African Journal of Rural Development*, 2(2), 1-27.

Brokensha, D. And A. Castro. (1984). *Fuelwood, Agroforestry, and Natural Resource Management: The Development Significance of Land Tenure and other Resource Management Utilization Systems*. Institute of Development Anthropology. Binghampton, New York.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The Ecology of Human Development: Experiments by Nature and Design*. Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press.

Bubolz, M. and S. Sontag. (1993). Human ecology theory. In P. Boss, W. Doherty, R. LaRossa, W. Schumm and S. Steinmetz (Eds.), *Sourcebook of Family Theories and Methods: A Contexual Approach*. New York: Plenum Press.

Buvinic, M. (1986). Projects for women in the Third World: Explaining their misbehavior. *World Development*, 14(5), 653-664.

Caveness, F. and W. Kurtz. (1993). Agroforestry adoption and risk perception by farmers in Senegal. *Agrofrestry Systems*, 21; 11-25.

Chimedza, R. (1990). *The impact if irrigation development on women farmers in Zimbabwe: The case of Mushandike and Tagarika irrigation schemes*. Working paper AEE 1/90. Harare: University of Zimbabwe.

Clay, D. and R. Magnani. (1987). The human ecology of farming systems: Toward understanding agricultural development in Rwanda. *Research in Rural Sociology and Development*, 3; 141-167.

Collins, J. (1991). Women and environment: Social reproduction and sustainable development. In Gallin and Ferguson (Eds.), *The Women and International Development Annual, #2*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Costigan, A., V. Kpohazounde, and M. Nansubuga. (1990). *A study of women and credit in Uganda and the Uganda Cooperative Savings and Credit Union, Ltd.* Canadian Cooperative Association, (UCSCU).

Dankelman, I. and J. Davidson. (1988). *Women and Environment in the Third World.* London: Earthscan Publications Ltd.

(1991). Land: Women at the centre of the food crisis. In S. Sontheimer (Ed.), *Women and the Environment: A Reader.* London: Earthscan Publications.

Das, P. (1989). Social forestry and the tribals. *Journal of Indian Anthropology*, 24, 269-275.

Davidson, S. (1993). Women and environment in developing countries: Issues and linkages. *Women and Environments*, 13(3/4); 6-14.

Deere, C. (1986). Rural women and agrarian reform in Peru, Chile and Cuba. In J. Nash and H. Safa (eds.), *Women and Change in Latin America.* Massachusetts: Bergin and Garvey Publishers, Inc.

(1987). The division of labor by sex in agriculture: A Peruvian case study. In E. Archetti, P. Cammack and B. Roberts (eds.), *Sociology of Developing Societies: Latin America.* New York: Monthly Review Press.

Engberg, L., S. Beckerson, and E. Francois. (1994). Women and household production: An ecosystem perspective with a comparison of two studies from Africa. In H. Dagenais and D. Piche (Eds.), *Women; Feminism and Development.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Feldstein, H., C. Flora and S. Poats. (1989). *The Gender Variable in Agricultural Research.* International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, Canada.

Feldstein, H. and J. Woodhill. (1993). *Women and Men as Users of Agroforestry Technology.* Consultants report and recommendations of the CGIAR Gender Program ICRAF workshop, October 1993. Nairobi, Kenya: ICRAF.

Flora, C. and B. Santos. (1986). Women in farming systems in Latin America. In J. Nash and H. Safa (eds.), *Women and Change in Latin America.* Massachusetts: Bergin and Garvey Publishers Inc.

Fortmann, L. (1986). Women in subsistence forestry. *Journal of Forestry*, 84(7); 39-43.

Fortmann, L. And J. Bruce. (1988). Introduction. In L. Fortmann & J. Bruce (Eds.), *Whose Trees? Proprietary Dimensions of Forestry*. Westview Press.

Fortmann, L. and D. Rocheleau. (1985). Women and agroforestry: Four myths and three case studies. *Agroforestry Systems*, 2; 253-272.

Francis, P. (1987). Land tenure systems and the adoption of alley farming in southern Nigeria. In J. Raintree (Ed.), *Land, Trees, and Tenure*. ICRAF and the Land Tenure Centre.

Ghamunga, F. and Y. Msangula. (1993). *Women's Preferences in Forestry: A case study in Tanzania*. Women and Agroforestry in Eastern Africa Working Paper Series. African-Caribbean Institute.

Giles, R., R. Oderwald, and A. Ezealor. (1993). Toward a rationally robust paradigm for agroforestry systems. *Agroforestry Systems*, 24; 21-37.

Gladwin, C. (1989). *Ethnographic Decision Tree Modeling*. London: Sage Publications.

Guinand, Y. (1995). *Evaluation of 'Two Wing' agroforestry groups in Kabale District, Uganda*. ICRAF/AFRENA report, January 1995.

(1995a). Personal communication, September.

Guinand, Y. and L. Hitimana. (1994). *Women's preferences, knowledge and management of trees*. ICRAF/ISABU Burundi report no. 91. Nairobi: ICRAF.

Hammersley, M. (1992). *What's Wrong with Ethnography? Methodological Explorations*. London: Routledge.

Hirschon, R. (1984). Property, power and gender relations. In R. Hirschon (Ed.), *Women and Property - Women as Property*. New York: St. Martin's Press. Pp 1- 22.

Horn, N. (1994). *Cultivating Customers: Market Women in Harare, Zimbabwe*. London: Rienner.

Kabale Department of Lands and Surveys. (n/d). *Land Management - Kabale*. Unpublished manuscript. Kabale, Department of Lands and Surveys.

Kaloni, M. (1995) Personal communication, September.

Karwemera, F. (1996). Personal communication, January.

Kemerwa, A., D. Peden, and W. Bamwerinde. (1994). Balancing gender to make agroforestry work. *Agroforestry Today*, January-March, 1994, 15-17.

Kigula, J. (1993). *Land disputes in Uganda: An overview of the types of land disputes and the dispute settlement fora.* Unpublished manuscript. Kampala: Makerere Institute of Social Research.

Lateef, K. Sarwar. (1991). Structural adjustment in Uganda: The initial experience. In H. B. Hansen and M. Twaddle, (Eds.), *Changing Uganda: The Dilemmas of Structural Adjustment and Revolutionary Change*. Kampala: Fountain Press. Pp 20-42.

Layder, (1993). *New Strategies in Social Research*. New York: Sage publications.

Marglin, F. A. and P.C. Mishra. (1992). Women's blood: Challenging the discourse of development. *The Ecologist*, 22(1); 22-31.

Martin, W. and M. Beittel. (1987). The hidden abode of reproduction: Conceptualizing households in Southern Africa. *Development and Change*, 18; 215-234.

Maydell, H. (1985). The contribution of agroforestry to world forestry development. *Agroforestry Systems.*

McHugh, M., I. H. Frieze, and A. Browne. (1993). Research on battered women and their assailants. In F. Denmark and M. Paludi, (Eds.), *Psychology of Women: A Handbook of Issues and Theories*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. Pp. 513-552.

Moser, C. (1989). Gender planning in the Third World: Meeting practical and strategic gender needs. *World Development*, 17(11); 1799-1825.

(1993). *Gender Planning and Development*. London: Routledge.

Mubiru, R. (1995). Personal communication, December.

Murray, C. (1987). Class, gender and the household: The developmental cycle in

Southern Africa. *Development and Change*, 18; 235-249.

Murray, E. C. (1996). Personal communication, May.

Nair, P. (1985). Classification of agroforestry systems. *Agroforestry Systems*, 3; 91-127.

Nalwanga-Sebina, A. and E. Natukunda-Togboa. (1988). *Uganda Women's Needs and Problems: An Assessment Survey - 1988.* Kampala: UNICEF.

Nash, J. (1988). Implications of technological change for household and rural development: Some Latin American cases. In C. Weil (ed.), *Lucha: The Struggles of Latin American Women*. Minneapolis: The Prisma Institute, Inc.

National Association of Women's Organizations, Uganda (NAWOU). (1995). *Women's Landmarks in the Democratisation Process in Uganda*. Kampala: Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

Nzita, R. and M. Niwampa. (1995). *The Peoples and Cultures of Uganda*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers, Ltd.

Ofosu-Amaah, W. (1994). Women, environment and development: The evolution of the debate. *Development*, 1: 63-66.

Olson, J. (1995). *Natural resource management by farmers in Kabale district, Uganda*. African Highlands Initiative Report. International Centre for Research in Agroforestry, Nairobi, Kenya.

Peden, D. (Ed.) (1992). *AFRENA Project Uganda: Progress report for the period 1 April 1991 to 31 March 1992.* ICRAF/AFRENA report no. 59.

(1995). *Increasing wood fuel and food production through improved terrace management and other agroforestry technologies in southwest Uganda*. Draft report of an 8 year research/development initiative, ICRAF/AFRENA Uganda. Kampala.

(1995a). Personal communication, September.

Place, F. (1994). *The role of land and tree tenure on the adoption of agroforestry technologies: A summary and synthesis*. Draft Report. ICRAF/ Land Tenure Centre, University of Wisconsin, Madison project. Nairobi, Kenya.

(1994). *Preliminary report on the role of land and tree tenure in the adoption of agroforestry technologies in Uganda*. Makerere University/ Land Tenure Centre,

University of Wisconsin, Madison/ICRAF project report. Nairobi, Kenya.

Plumwood, V. (1992). Feminism and ecofeminism: Beyond the dualistic assumptions of women, men and nature. *The Ecologist*, 22(1); 8-13.

Purseglove, J. (1946). Land use in the overpopulated areas of Kabale, Kigezi district, Uganda. *East African Agricultural Journal,* 12(1), 3-10.

Rocheleau, D. (1985). *Land use planning with rural farm households and communities: Participatory agroforestry research.* Working paper no. 36, ICRAF: Nairobi, Kenya.

(1988). Women, trees and tenure: Implications for agroforestry. In L. Fortmann and J. Bruce (Eds.), *Whose Trees? Proprietary Dimensions of Forestry*. Westview Press.

(1991). Gender, ecology and the science of survival: Stories and lessons from Kenya. *Agriculture and Human Values*, Winter-Spring- 1991; 156-165.

Rogers, G. (1993). Modelling the impact of land tenure on income generation in rural Mauritania. In T. Park (Ed.), *Risk and Tenure in Arid Lands: The Political Ecology of Development in the Senegal River Basin.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press. Pp. 125-144.

Sachs, C. (1992). Reconsidering diversity in agriculture and food systems: An ecofeminist approach. *Agriculture and Human Values*, Summer-1992; 4-10.

Scherr, S. And P. Oduol. (1988). *Farmer adoption of alley cropping and border planting in the Care agroforestry extension project*. ICRAF-CARE Project. Report No. 15. Nairobi.

Sontheimer, S. (1991). Restoring the balance: Women and forest resources. In S. Sontheimer (Ed.), *Women and the Environment: A Reader.* London: Earthscan Publications.

Spelman, E. (1988). Gender in the context of race and class. In E. Spelman (ed.), *The Inessential Woman: Problems of Exclusion in Feminist Thought*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Spradley, E. (1979). *The Ethnographic Interview*. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston Co.

Statistics Department (1992). *The 1991 population and housing census: Kabale district.*

Uganda Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning. Entebbe, Uganda.

Strauss, A. and J. Corbin. (1990). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Taturyatemba, J. (1995). Personal communication, November.

(1995a). Personal communication, December.

Vayda, A. (1983). Progressive contextualization: Methods for research in human ecology. *Human Ecology*, 11(3); 265-281.

Watson, L. (1994). *Gender and the perceived value of trees on homesites in Zimbabwe*. Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Alberta.

Whitechurch, G. and L. Constantine. (1993). Systems theory. In P. Boss, W. Doherty, R. LaRossa, W. Schumm and S. Steinmetz (Eds.), *Sourcebook of Family Theories and Methods: A Contexual Approach*. New York: Plenum Press.

Wilson, F. (1985). Women and agricultural change in Latin America: Some concepts guiding research. *World Development*, 13(9), 1017-1035.

Woods, F. and D. Ostermeier. (1985). Agroforestry: A lesson form the Third World. *The Futurist*, August 1985. Pp. 24-26.

Appendix A. Interview Discussion Outline

The following list of questions were used during the individual interviews with women farmers as a guide. Some women were visited more than once if time was not sufficient to get through all the topics in one sitting, or the interview was difficult and responses were not clearly understood. Questions were reworded and modified to suit each situation.

Land and Tree Tenure, Household Resources and Socio-Economic Attributes of Women Respondents : Kabale District

Part A : Personal Information

1. What is your age? How much formal education have you had?

What village are you from?
-if other than this village, when and why did you shift?

2. Have you ever been married?
if yes: when were you married?
-what village is your husband from?

3. Who are the members of your household?
-ages and gender of children
-are the children still in school?
-are any of the children married?
-are there grandchildren living with you?
-how long have they lived with you?
-why do they live with you?
-ages of each, and are they in school?
-are there any non-family members living with you?
-who are they and why are they living with you?
-how long have they lived with you?
-are there any people that lived with you in the past that no longer live with you?

4. Who does the food preparation and cooking in your household?
-how many times per day do you cook a new meal?
-much time do you spend cooking each meal?
-how much of each food per meal?
-how much of the food your family eats is grown on your farm?
-how much of your food is purchased?
-how is your food cooked?
-from where do you get your fuel supplies?
-how much is used daily?

5. What do the children do while at home?
    -are there gender specific tasks expected of each child?
    -how do you think their lives are different from your life when you were a child?

6. How do you think your life is different from your Mother's life when your Mother was your age?

7. How did you expect your life to change when you married?

Part II : Land and Trees

8. How much and does your household own?
    -what is grown on each plot?
        -where are the plots located?
        -are they close together or scattered?
        -how long does it take you to walk from home to your fields?
    -is this land sufficient to provide food for your family?
    -is it sufficient to provide extra for market sale?
    -how was the land acquired?
        -when did these acquisitions occur?

9. Are there any trees planted on the plots?
    -where are the trees planted?
    -what species are they?
    -who planted them?
    -who owns these trees?
    -what are they used for?
    -does anyone else use your trees?
        -non-family members?
    -who makes the decisions regarding use of the trees?
    -are there any places you are not allowed to plant trees?
    -what are the most important benefits to planting trees?
    -are there any reasons why you would not plant trees?
    -what type of tree(s) would you like to plant?
        -where would you plant them?
        -why?
    -does your household use trees that do not belong to you?
    -have you had any conflicts with others over your trees?
        if yes : elaborate

10. Are there different trees planted by men than are planted by women?
    -do men and women have different uses for trees?

11. Which farm and household tasks are done specifically by women?
    -by men?

12. Do you have any co-wives?
    if yes: how many, and in what order did the man marry them.
    -how much land does her household have?
    -how was this land acquired?
    -how is the husband's land usually divided amongst co-wives?
    -do you ever share land, food, income or other resources with your co-wives?
        -with the co-wives children?
    -does your husband give food or resources from your household to your co-wives?
        if yes: what resources and how often?

13. Do you rent land?
    if yes : where is the land located?
    -what do you use this land for?
    -what are the terms of the rental?

14. Do you use any other land that you do not own or rent?
    if yes : same as above.

15. Have you or your husband ever sold any land?
    if yes : when and why?

16. Do you own any livestock? Poultry?
    if yes : what and how many?
    -who cares for the animals?
    -what do you use the animals for?
    -how much annual income do the animals generate?

17. What will you do with your land in the future?
    -how will heirs be chosen?
    -when will the heirs receive it?
    -are there any reasons that would make you sell your land?
    -are there other people - family or non family - that have a claim to your land?
        -in-laws, co-wives or their children?

18. After you have given land to your heirs, will you still be permitted to use it?
    -Could you continue to use any of the trees you had planted on it?

19. Do you perceive any differences between land ownership and tree ownership?

20. Can women legally own land?

-How do women acquire their own land?

21. Have you ever been involved in a land dispute?
    -or a conflict over trees?
    -if you ever were in such a conflict, what could you do about it?

22. Are you aware of any laws protecting women from their husbands?
    -If you were threatened by your husband, what could you do about it?

23. What changes, do you think, are needed in the laws pertaining to women?

Part III : Household Income Generation and Allotment

24. Can you estimate your weekly/monthly household income.

25. What amount of this is earned by you?
    -by your husband?
    -by the children?

26. Are there any other family members that contribute income/send money home to you?
    -if yes : who?
    -how often?
    -what is this income used for?

27. What activities do you engage in to earn income?
    -how much time do you spend weekly on each activity?
    -what activities do other income earning members do?

28. How is household income spent?
    -who decides how income is spent?

29. Do you have a bank account?
    -is it a joint family account?
    -do you have free access to it?
    -can you decide to withdraw and spend money on your own?
    -do you have a separate account from your husband?

30. Of all your monthly expenses, which ones are MOST important?

31. What do you think are the most serious issues facing rural women today?

32. What do you think is/are the cause(s) of these problems?

33. What do you think are solutions to these problems?

34. Are you a member of a women's group?

if yes : what is the name of the group? if no : have you ever wanted to join a group?

-when did you join?

-what were your expectations upon joining?

-what benefits have you received from being a part of the group?

-how much time do you spend per week on group activities?

-do you ever miss group meetings or activities?

-what reasons would cause you to miss a meeting?

-what are the most important activities the group does?

-what things have you learned as a result of being a member of the group?

-does your group plant trees?

-have you planted more trees since joining the group?

-if yes : where are they planted?

-what types of trees?

-why were they planted?

Appendix B. Wealth categories of Kabale women

During an evaluation project of the Two Wings Agroforestry groups in Kabale District, Guinand (1995) had the women do a wealth ranking exercise. The wealth ranking exercises involved groups of five to eight women from each of the ten Two Wings groups. The women were given a heap of beans and told the following explanation:

> "These beans represent all the members in your group. We know that the members in your group are not all the same, some are different from others. We would like to know how many similar groups of people you can think of exist in your agroforestry group. So please try to classify people from your group into groups of people which are, in one way or another, similar to each other" (pp. 3-4).

The women were then left on their own to discuss and categorize according to their own criteria. The discussions resulted in the women identifying 18 different wealth assets attributable to five different wealth classes. These classes are summarized in Table 1 below. These resulting categories are used in this study to classify the study participants according to socio-economic status. These categories were chosen because they are reflective of the values of Kabale women and enabled the researcher to avoid reinventing the wheel by having the women of Butobere undergo a similar exercise.

WEALTH ASSETS	CATEGORY 1 "such a person is nowhere" "the lazy ones"	CATEGORY 2 "people who don't have soap"	CATEGORY 3 "the ones in the middle"	CATEGORY 4 "the ones who have - the rich"	CATEGORY 5 "the richest"
cultivable land	-no land, or 1 plot with the house on it -borrow land to cultivate if possible	-1-5 plots owned -no fallow -borrow land if possible -occasionally rent land when funds available	-5-15 plots owned -no fallow -borrow land if possible -occasionally rent plots to cultivate	- 15-25 plots owned -able to leave some plots fallow	- more than 25 plots owned
degree of subsistence	-do not produce enough for domestic consumption	-do not produce enough for domestic consumption	-have enough for home consumption and occasionally surplus for market sale	-produce surplus for market sale	-produce abundant surplus for market sale
income generating activities	-dig others land for food, clothing, money, alcohol (men) -begging	-dig others land for food, money, clothing -handicraft production	-cash from own banana plantation -dig other land to get cash for school fees, household items -petty trading	-cash from banana and fruit plantations -brick makers -petty trading	-commercial woodlots -dairy production -petty business (grinding mill, etc)
occupation	-day/casual labourers	-day/casual labourers	-subsistence farmers -casual labourers	-farmers -lower level gov't employees -primary school teachers	-farm managers -gov't employees -communal advisors -R.C.'s -secondary school teachers
hired labour	-no hired labour	-no hired labour	-occasional hired labour	-hire labour often	-have permanent hired labour
livestock	-no animals	-chickens -no cattle -less than 2 goats/sheep	-chickens -less than 5 goats/sheep -less than 2 cows	-2-10 cows -3-7 goats/sheep -zero grazing	-more than 10 cows
agricultural inputs	-no tools owned	-have a hoe, but may own no other tools	-have necessary tools, but may lack fertilizer and other expensive inputs	-have all necessary tools -can afford fertilizer	-can afford all necessary tools and inputs
housing materials	-grass thatch roof, mud walls and floor -multipurpose housing for people and animals	-grass thatch roof, mud walls and floor	-iron sheeted roof, mud walls, clay/concrete floor	-iron sheeted roof, clay/concrete walls, concrete floor	-modern housing with tile, glass, plumbing, etc.
clothing	-buy cheapest clothes from the market -have only one piece of clothing to wear -no shoes	-buy second hand clothes from market -have only one piece of clothing -no shoes	-buy clothes second hand from market -can afford shoes -have two pieces of clothing - one for weekdays, other for Sunday or formal meetings	-can a afford a *gomasi* (*busuti*) and silk belt -can afford shoe-have more than one set of clothe-buy new clothes in shops	-can afford new, expensive clothes and fabrics from shops
furniture and household items	no furniture or household items -have sleeping mats	-no furniture, only mats for sitting and sleeping -have plastic plates and cups	-have folding chairs and a table for eating -have cups and plates	-have all necessary household items and furniture -may have bicycles	-western style furniture -all necessary household items

social security	-none, live from day to day	-none	-may be able to save from occassional sale of surplus food	--may have some informal savings and access to informal credit systems -have some land and perhaps a petty buisness as collateral	-may have a bank account -have land and business for collateral
formal education	-none	-primary 4 or 5 -frequently fail to pay school fees	-can afford to educate all children to p7 -some may be able to go to S4	-can afford to send children to secondary or higher	-send children to college and university
number of children	-more than 10	-more than 8	-less than 8	-less than 8	-less than 8
eating habits	-eat what they can get -often lack basics like salt and sugar	-feed children with unfermented sorgum as a subsistute for milk	-eat what is produced on-farm	-eat what is produced on farm	-eat what is produced on farm -can afford to buy some luxery goods
health care	-children suffer from malnutrition -no money to go to the hospital or buy medicine	-no money for hospital or modern medicine -use traditional medicines	-use traditional medicines -if necessary, will sell land or some asset to pay for a hospital visit	-can afford to go to hospital and pharmacy -look very healthy and fat	-can afford hospital, medicines, etc.
sanitary and hygenic conditions	-household lacks basic sanitary conditions -cannot afford soap -diseases are very common	-households lack basic sanitary facilities -cannot afford soap -diseases common	-have a pit latrine	-have a pit latrine	-pit latrine or indoor plumbing
social conditions	-many men have alcohol problems -abandoned women -widows, divorced women -orphans -disabled people -not legally married -polygamous marriages	-many men with alcohol problems -abandoned women -widows, divorcees -orphans -disabled people -not legally married -polygamous marriages	-men frequently drink -sometimes legally married -wife usually manages the farm	-legally married -huband and wife work together	-legally married -husband and wife work together -usually wealthy family background
social status within the community	-not taken seriously by the community	-overlooked or exploited by the community	-'their voices are not heard' -do not take part in political and administrative decisions affecting the community	-are respected -traditional leaders -church leaders	-hold political positions or family members are working for the gov't